

EAST EUROPE

A Monthly Review of East European Affairs



**The Jackpot—
GAMBLING IN THE SOVIET BLOC**

**Fourteen People in a Boat—
ESCAPE BY SEA**

**Choosing a Career—
JOBS AND FUTURES**

**Population Trends
Detective Stories Defended
Satellite Contacts Abroad
"On the Road for Slippers"
Eastern Europe at the UN
Chinese on Moscow**

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EAST EUROPE

Formerly NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

CONTENTS

THE MONTH IN REVIEW	1
THE JACKPOT	3
ESCAPE BY SEA	8
JOB AND FUTURES	12
A DEFENSE OF THE DETECTIVE STORY	20
"ON THE ROAD FOR SLIPPERS"	22
FACTS AND FIGURES: POPULATION TRENDS	24
EASTERN EUROPE AT THE UN	27
CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS	32
EASTERN EUROPE OVERSEAS	48
TRENDS IN COMMUNIST ECONOMICS—by Lynn Turgeon	50
BOOK NOTES	52
TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS: CHINA ON MOSCOW	54

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THE MONTH IN REVIEW

FAILURES

THE TWO GIANTS of Communism, the Soviet

Union and China, have now admitted to appalling failures in agriculture. However, the substance and manner of these admissions differed strikingly and significantly. In China, where things were far more serious, nearly all blame was put upon natural catastrophes:

the worst combination of droughts, floods, excessive rainfall, typhoons and locust plagues in eighty years. The much-suffering Chinese people were now confronted with the specter of famine, but it was not the fault of the government. True, ten percent of the bureaucratic apparatus was also blamed for "sabotage," but these were described as "landlord, bourgeois and other elements seduced by reactionaries." In general it was not the system and the system's sons which were at fault, but only a malevolent and uncontrollable nature.

In the Soviet Union it was quite otherwise. Failure was attributed to men, and very specific failure to very specific men. There was the remarkable spectacle of open admissions by leading agricultural bureaucrats of bumbling, bungling, incompetence and crime. And these were no "show trial" confessions but spontaneous, blurted admissions forced out at a Central Committee meeting by the cutting tongue of First Party Secretary Khrushchev as he interrupted the functionaries' speeches, questioned their data, argued with their conclusions and gave them the lie direct to their faces. It is impossible to convey the tone of these meetings without extensive quotation, but those who remember the interviews Khrushchev gave in New York last fall, with their odd and fascinating mixture of joviality and brutality, amiability and ruthlessness, will have some idea of what the regional and district functionaries went through in Moscow.

The people of Eastern Europe have learned of these things in varying degrees. The Satellite press gave fairly extensive coverage to the Moscow agricultural plenum, and *Tass* bulletins were published which hinted at the quality of the proceedings and the degree of the failure. But in Hungary the press only strayed from talk of Soviet successes to mention "open criticism of problems" and immediately changed the subject. In Hungary any full-scale treatment of the Soviet plenum's admissions would be particularly repugnant, for Hungarian agriculture, near full collectivization after two years of turmoil, is in a hapless and dishevelled state. To hear the Soviet account of bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption and production failures after thirty years of collectivized agriculture, would be too disheartening to the Party faithful of Hungary.

The Polish press coverage resembled the Hungarian in its reticence. The Poles, with almost no collectivized agriculture and at the same time a relatively prosperous peasantry, had their own reasons for silence. They could not afford to offer the slightest hint, the smallest possibility of inference, that they found the Soviet admissions ironic.

As far as China is concerned, however, the Poles have felt no hesitation about mentioning the agricultural catastrophe out loud. This was done by *Trybuna Ludu*, the Polish Party daily, with the utmost suavity and in tones of unimpeachable gravity; natural causes were given all the blame. Nevertheless, when it is noted that no other



Satellite Party paper had seen fit to print the news, and when it is remembered that Poland was recently attacked by China precisely for its unorthodox agricultural policy, it is not impossible to imagine the odd smile and the random wink in Warsaw.

THE DECLARATION

ENOUGH TIME has now elapsed for the full spectrum of reactions to the December Declaration of eighty-one Communist Parties in Moscow to have become clear. And it is notable how much of a spectrum there was, to what degree the various countries of the bloc, always upholding the basic theses of the Declaration and always invoking the "monolithic unity of the Socialist camp," managed to instill their own particular flavor into their reactions. There is a certain humor in the way in which the various countries of the monolithic camp seized on just that part of the elephant one might have expected. China, of course, having been forced to toe the line on the Soviet thesis of the preventability of war, nevertheless put all its emphasis on the crimes past and crimes to be expected of "the imperialists." (See Texts and Documents.) War, the interpreters seemed to be saying, might be avoidable after all, but (here a look at the United States, particularly) there were many obstacles in the way.

Poland, in its turn, stressed just that which since 1956 has distinguished it from the rest of the bloc: the "independence" and "equality" of all Communist Parties and the right of each to "define its own political line" on internal affairs. So, of course, Poland has acted in the last four years in agriculture, in Church-State relations, in personal freedoms; no other country of the bloc, however, found just that meaning in the Declaration.

And Albania wandered on its antic way, completely ignoring the Declaration's strictures on "left-dogmatism," leaping aboard the strictures on "right-revisionism," and galloping on to the usual anti-Yugoslav frenzy. (An interesting sidelight on the Albanian behavior in Moscow came from an East German source which stated that the Albanians had proposed the formation of an Emigre Yugoslav Communist Party—a sort of Free Yugoslav Communists in Exile—to exorcise the Titoists as traitors to the ideal. The suggestion, despite preliminary Chinese support, was firmly squelched.)

To complete this survey of reactions in character, the East German rulers, who for years had been considered the Chinese Communists' firmest supporters in Eastern Europe, performed a complete and agile switch, upheld Khrushchev in totality, and explicitly condemned the Albanians for "dogmatism" in following the Chinese line. For any Communist regime openly to criticize another is startling; for the East Germans to do it on these grounds is astonishing.

DJILAS

IN THE INNUMERABLE discussions, arguments, accusations and counter-accusations between Yugoslavia and the rest of the Soviet bloc in recent years, a tacit assumption of the Yugoslavs has been their own moral superiority over the others for having removed all vestiges of irrational Stalinist terror. Yet for four years Milovan Djilas, formerly a Yugoslav leader second only to Tito, has been imprisoned for having criticized his country's economic policies and its "New Class" of Communist bureaucrats. Now, at last, that blot has been partially removed; Djilas, on January 20, was let out of jail "on probation." It can be hoped that Tito will continue to repair past wrongs by permitting Djilas full freedom, just as he has partially repaired his country's economic structure by following in some degree the advice for which Djilas was jailed. A sentence from an article which Djilas published in *Borba* (Belgrade), in 1953—one of those for which he was eventually jailed—is apposite: "Every restriction of freedom of thought or opinion, even if made for the sake of the most splendid ideology, must inevitably lead to the corruption of those responsible for it. . . ."

TOTO2 *НОВО!*

ОТ 42-НА ТИРАЖ СЕ УВЕЛИЧАВАТ
РАЗМЕРИ НА МАКСИМАЛНИТЕ
ПЕЧАЛБИ

петница = ~~50.000~~ ^{80.000} ЛВ

5+1 = ~~55.000~~ ^{80.000} ЛВ

шестница = ~~65.000~~ ^{100.000} ЛВ

Advertisement in Trud (Sofia), October 19, 1960

The Jackpot

Gambling in the Soviet Bloc

CHANCE AND RISK have by no means been eliminated from the fortunes of men in Communist society—as the careers of any number of the current leaders in the Soviet bloc attest. But while hazarding all on a shrewd or lucky estimate is apparently an acceptable feature of political life under Communism, as an economic method it is generally looked down upon. In fact, financial “speculation,” whose grossest expression is gambling, is considered by Communist doctrine to be the root and branch of capitalist instability and injustice, and is accorded no place in the rational and just society in which the only permissible source of income is work.

Organized gambling, in the form of State lotteries as well as sports pools, race-track betting, etc., functioned freely and legally in most European countries before the war. The Communist regimes upon coming to power in Eastern Europe after the war suppressed and condemned all forms of gambling. But by 1957, pragmatic (mainly

financial) considerations had led all of them to reintroduce legal betting on a grand scale.

The two basic forms of legal gambling in the Soviet bloc are the State lottery and the sports—mainly soccer—pools (betting on the results of team matches). In addition, there are “numbers games” which, where they exist, are evidently the most popular of the offerings. In Hungary this game, called Lotto, was organized by the Kadar regime early in 1957, just after the Revolt. The method consists of a public drawing of five numbers from 1 to 90, the winners being those who have previously picked at least two of the numbers drawn. Similar to this is the Polish Toto-Lotek, which requires picking six numbers from some 99 printed on a ticket. Toto-Lotek is run by a State gambling syndicate called Totalizator Sportowy, which was set up by a December 1955 government decree, originally to conduct the soccer pools. Today there are branches of the syndicate in almost every Polish provincial district,

separate from the State Lottery Monopoly, but all of course under State control.*

Organizations, institutions and commercial enterprises also run small lotteries. These require a permit from the State. Typical are the Book Lotteries which provide substantial prizes and claim that "every ticket wins," because those which are not drawn can be redeemed at face value for books at the State store.

Lotteries and Pools

The State lotteries and the soccer pools function more or less according to the standard European models. There are some forms, however, which, if they cannot be called precisely "Socialist," are a departure from normal capitalist practice. One of these is the lottery on savings accounts in lieu of regular interest. Under this system in Poland, the depositor chooses the kind of account he wants to have according to the prize he wishes to gamble for.

The system was introduced by the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia at the beginning of 1954 (three years earlier than the State lottery and sports pools were revived), and within the first six weeks one hundred thousand depositors had put more than 50 million *koruny* into the savings accounts. There are two annual drawings for twenty-five prizes, the first amounting to double the deposit in the winning account, two equalling the deposit, and 22 equal to half the deposit. Winnings are tax free. The draw is arranged so that there is one "pay-off" for every 40 accounts.

The betting introduced by the Communist regimes caught on like fire in dry hay and is now a virtual rage in Eastern

* The more intimate and sophisticated games of chance and skill—roulette, backgammon, card and dice games—which were once a standard feature of casinos and clubs have all but disappeared. Bulgaria's new Black Sea resorts, however, have gambling casinos, and there has been talk, after the war and again after 1956, of opening a casino for tourists on Margaret Island in Budapest.



Game "fixing" in Czechoslovakia is scored in cartoon of a robot player who goes into action only when 100 *koruny* is put in him.

Rohac (Bratislava), December 2, 1960

Europe. When the first Communist-sponsored sports pool got under way in Czechoslovakia in 1956,* the press reported that it had at once become "the popular pastime of hundreds of thousands of citizens"; and the necessity for extending the betting hours at the post office because of the lengthy waiting in line was stressed. When Lotto was introduced in Hungary, public interest was said to have exceeded all regime expectations, and the supply of tickets gave out before the closing date. The average sale of Lotto tickets in 1960 was over four million a month, the equivalent of one ticket a week for every two persons in Hungary (based on total population figures).

Odds—and Ends

The reasons for this ubiquitous enthusiasm are not hard to find. Betting introduces excitement, diversion and hope into the tedium and austerity of ordinary day-to-day life in the Soviet bloc. Where living standards are low, opportunities for radical improvement few, and many pleasures and comforts hard to come by quite apart from the difficulty of paying for them, the "little man's" best hope is for a windfall. (This, of course, is precisely the kind of thinking which the Communists try in theory to extirpate from their society.) And the pay-offs in Communist-organized gambling games are not negligible. Not only are there dazzlingly large cash awards (in Polish Toto-Lotek, an initial investment of 10 *zloty* can win as much as one million *zloty*; the first prize at a recent book lottery in Hungary was 25,000 *forint*, which is the average two-year income of a skilled worker). In addition, many of the prizes are in amenities which are in short supply and cannot be obtained without a long wait or some sort of favored status: cars, excursions abroad, above all, apartments.

In the Bulgarian State lottery, for example, 60 percent of the pay-off is in cash, 40 percent in goods and trips. A representative list of the prizes awarded in monthly drawings would be as follows:**

In articles:

- 1 "Moscowitch" car
- 1 "Volga" car
- 1 two-room apartment in Sofia, boulevard Mihailov
- 1 two-room apartment in Sofia in the Stalin complex
- 1 sewing machine
- Motorcycles, bicycles, watches, cameras, radios
- 2 cooking stoves
- 1 TV set
- 1 lot of land for villa in v. Pancherevo, Sofia district

Excursions:

- 1—Sofia-Prague-Budapest
- 1—Sofia-Kishinev-Moscow
- 1—Sofia-Kiev-Moscow
- 1—Sofia-Dresden-Potsdam

Cash:

- 1 prize of 20,000 leva ***
- 4 prizes of 1,000 leva each
- 9 prizes of 400 leva each
- 3 prizes of 200 leva each
- several of 100 leva each

* There are now two—"Sazka" and "Sportka."

** August 16, 1960 drawing, as published in *Izvestia na Presidium* (Sofia), August 19, 1960.

*** Average monthly industrial wage: 600 leva.

Apartments are probably the most valued prizes, and as such are being increasingly included. Cooperative apartments awarded as prizes in Hungary are located in so-called Lotto Housing Projects financed partly by the Lotto fund. These projects are now under construction in Budapest and the provincial cities. At a Hungarian Lotto drawing on October 7, 1960, the first prizes were two two-room apartments, one one-room apartment, one two-room family house, and a car.

Excesses

THUS IT is that—in the words of the Warsaw paper *Slowo Powszechnie*, December 14, 1958—"the numbers games have become a national institution, a social phenomenon which with each succeeding Sunday is becoming more and more a set habit of millions of citizens. Each year, several score of them join the ranks of millionaires, while a more or less equal number go behind bars because they were unlucky with the money they 'borrowed' from their places of employment. . . ."

The East European Communist regimes, and (alleged) public opinion, are distinctly ambivalent toward this particular "institution." Only the Kadar regime expresses no misgivings openly and promotes Lotto and other gambling games with unrestrained zest through the press and radio.

In Poland, however, the regime press began sometime ago to refer to gambling as a "national disease"—in the same category as alcoholism—although it had earlier supported gambling as a source of revenue for the State coffers. *Slowo Powszechnie*, December 14, 1958, said that public opinion in Poland is divided into three camps on the subject: "one demanding a radical move totally to eliminate the numbers games; the second—equally radical—maintaining that gambling is completely harmless and there should be no limit on the prizes; and the third, which believes that people who want to play should be allowed to do so, but that the amount of prizes should be limited, so that after the initial period of widespread participation, the number of players will drop to a harmless level. Today it can be said that the victorious group are the 'maximalists,' who called for a liberal attitude which would permit the majority of citizens to gamble until they lost their proverbial shirt." (Currently there is a one-million *zloty* "ceiling" on a single win at Toto Lotek.)

The Czechoslovak regime has lately been taking a markedly dim view of the gambling craze which, of course, it initially instigated. The argument against the betting is that it distracts the masses from more "socially useful" activity, such as work, and lures the weak into crime and ruin.

Sports Week

A letter from a reader in Slovakia, printed in *Praca* (Bratislava), January 8, 1958, described the situation in his office. He professed astonishment over the way his office colleagues "manage to squander office time over Sportka and Szaska. Such a 'sports week' begins as early as Monday morning, when there is a great debate over the



Tempting array of new cars to be given away in the Polish State savings account lottery is inspected by a hopeful public in Warsaw. *Swiat* (Warsaw), February 16, 1958

previous week's wins and losses. From Tuesday to Thursday tickets are hunted for. No one is satisfied with filling out two or three forms, but takes at least ten. It goes without saying that he does not fill them out in five minutes; moreover, he has to consult with the other bettors. Whole collectives are formed to bet because two heads are better than one and at the same time the risk is smaller. All this at the expense of working time. On Thursday and Friday the bettors have to make an 'official' trip to the city which they extend according to the length of the line which their co-bettors have already formed at the counter. Then they spend Sunday yearning for the results, and on Monday the whole merry-go-round begins again with the same tension and passion. Thus week after week, month after month go by. If the 'sports hours' were computed over the year, it would look very bad. It is fortunate that such a state of affairs prevails only in our office. Elsewhere they certainly give preference to their work over the betting in Sportka. Or does anyone else have other experiences?"

According to figures published in the Czechoslovak press, more than 3 billion *koruny* has gone into the sports pools since they began four years ago. *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), August 3, 1960, apparently in some embarrassment at the size of the sums involved, said: "Let us not be misled by these figures. The foundations of our wealth lie



"Urgent, timely work"—filling out Lotto tickets in Hungary.

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), October 27, 1960

THE REGIME AT ODDS

From Rude Pravo (Prague), November 28, 1960.

"Recently lotteries have sprung up on an exceptionally extensive scale. You walk along the street—and at the corner some vendor offers you a lottery ticket and promises that it will be this very number on which you will win a Spartak car; elsewhere you can pick your ticket and farther on a couple more exhort you: Don't miss this opportunity, money is waiting for you and it is free. . . . Even the hairdressers are organizing lotteries. From a poster on the windows of the Prague streetcars a bearded barber waves to the passengers; he wears a napkin adorned with the 'witty' slogan: First embellish your appearance and then [come] for your winnings (as if men would have a shave and women a permanent wave more often because of this).

"There is much unnecessary ado in connection with SPORTKA and SAZKA [sports pools]. Some institutions are hell-bent on taking away from betting even the modicum of sporting spirit which ought to be in it.

"It starts with the football pool. They issue a special poster each week giving, in addition to an analysis, forecasts for the probable results of the matches. The editors of the periodical Ceskoslovensky Sport have introduced a column called 'Tips for our Bettors.' . . . But this does not appear to have been very successful since the editors of Sport 'managed' to guess the first prize winner only once, it is said. And even on this occasion it was not much good since the first prize amounted to only 400 koruny and even a small child could have guessed right. . . . In Slovakia, the periodical Lud is prominent in the popularization of betting. It devotes the greater part of a page to this every week although the space could be used much more profitably for the needs of the construction of Socialism. One cannot ap-

not in 'chance,' but in the fruits of planning and work. Let us therefore consider the sports pools merely a harmless diversion. . . ."

Inevitably, perhaps, excesses, rackets and crime have arisen in connection with the betting. *Vecerni Praha* (Prague), January 24, 1958, complained that not only does the "little man" try to change the numbers on the lottery tickets with an ink pencil but so does the chief of the Sazka Control Department (he was sentenced to four years in jail). The pernicious effects of addiction were described in the case of Josef Migl, who stole material from the factory where he was employed, sold it to a private plumber, and spent the money on Sportka and Sazka. The sums he asked for the stolen material were "ridiculously small", since his only concern was to get enough to pay for the pool ticket. Migl did not win, but was sentenced to two years in prison.

A case which created something of a sensation in Czechoslovakia in 1960 involved a group of prominent persons, among them leading athletes, who were convicted

prove, either, the fact that some newspapers, especially provincial ones, carry the photographs of winners of SAZKA and SPORTKA in an endeavor to create a dubious sensation. . . .

"Many critical voices have been heard dealing with the profusion of all kinds of lotteries and the reckless popularization of SAZKA and SPORTKA. *Rude Pravo* receives letters in which attention is drawn to the excesses attached to this kind of entertainment. 'We have set out to fight against unearned incomes, but by means of the lotteries they are actually encouraged. . . . This is anti-social and insulting. . . .' It is time the organizers of the various lotteries and contests realize this. In their applications for permission to hold a lottery they usually state as grounds that it will bring them financial benefits. But whether the amount be small or large, it cannot make up for the harm done to the education of the people.

"Our society has entered the phase of the completion of Socialist construction and the sphere of thought and education has become the main battlefield for the struggle between the old and the new . . . against the remnants of petty bourgeois morality and psychology, among which is the endeavor to obtain things and money without work.

"People who want to get a car or some other valuable item cheaply do not usually boast of this. Many of them hide the lottery ticket, they fill in the football coupon secretly and thrust it deep down in their pocket. Are you surprised? Gullibility, reliance on chance, and attempts at getting more than one's due out of the common kitty have never yet enhanced the stature of a man. And for our society, which rests on work and which gives according to merit and work, such qualities are a burden."

of fraudulent "manipulation" of the results used in the Szaka sports pool during the 1957-58 season. Last December, the Polish radio reported a similar case in which employees of the Cracow branch of Totalizator Sportowy were accused of attempting to obtain for themselves the first (one million *zloty*) prize by falsifying the results of a Toto-Lotek drawing. The leading defendant, a Totalizator inspector from Warsaw, was sentenced to six years in prison and a 10,000 *zloty* fine. (Radio Warsaw, December 17, 1960.)

Reportedly there is a flourishing black market in the Soviet bloc in winning tickets on the betting games, which can be used as a "cover" for income acquired illegally (through theft or graft). Thus, in Hungary, winning Lotto tickets worth 30-40,000 *forint* can be sold on the black market for an additional 6,000 *forint*.

The Take

WHILE THE Communist regimes stand to lose something of their ideological purity by the promotion of gambling, this is evidently outweighed by their financial interest in it. Organized gambling is a not inconsiderable source

of revenue to the State, and its reintroduction in the Soviet bloc in 1957 was clearly as a means of "voluntary taxation" of the population in a more palatable form than the forced "peace loans" of the Stalin era, which were then being dropped.

As a general rule, the State takes 50 percent of the price of Lotto and Toto tickets. The State also receives 20 percent of the take of other lotteries, such as the book lottery (although exemptions are granted). A further income for the State is derived from taxes imposed on the winnings (e.g., in Hungary, 20 percent on everything over 20 *forint*). In theory, the State income from the sports pools constitutes a major part of the State subsidy of sports (and thus people are encouraged to "support the national sports" by betting). In Hungary part of the State profit from Lotto is earmarked for housing. There is, of course, no check or public accounting of the State's use of these funds, nor any visible popular concern with it (although in Poland it has been questioned whether revenue from gambling should not be put to more useful purposes than the financing of sports). In general it appears that organized gambling is one of the least questioned functions of the current governments in Eastern Europe.

TRADE UNIONISTS ABROAD

A rundown of the international activities of the Czechoslovak trade unions in 1960, from *RUDE PRAVO* (Prague), January 16, 1961:

Last year the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement substantially expanded its contacts with workers and trade unions abroad. There were relations with 79 countries, as compared with 68 in 1959; on the African continent in particular contacts were made, and old ones strengthened, with 15 trade unions.

"The disintegration of the colonial system in Africa opens the way to contacts with trade union organizations in former French Africa (Mali, Senegal, Cameroun), with the trade unions of the former British colonies Ghana and Nigeria, and with the regional trade union center UGTAN. Contacts have been strengthened with the general union of Algerian workers. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement launched solidarity actions supporting the Cuban revolution and established direct relations with the Cuban trade union center. Contacts with the trade unions of Indonesia, India and Ceylon were carried on in the spirit of common struggle for peace and for the unity of

the international trade union movement. Recently, closer cooperation was achieved with the independent general council of Japanese trade unions, SOHYO, a strong force in the fight of the Japanese people against the Japanese-American security pact and against the Japanese monopolies.

"A total of 373 foreign trade union delegations from 60 countries visited Czechoslovakia last year at the invitation of the RTUM, and RTUM sent 210 delegations to 28 countries. In the course of RTUM's international recreation activities, Czechoslovakia was host to 87 groups of holidaymakers from 11 countries, comprising 8,203 people, while 95 Czechoslovak groups—a total of 7,255 RTUM members—went to 10 countries. In addition to this, our country was visited at the invitation of the trade unions by 480 workers and other employees from the European capitalist countries, who came as tourists."

Escape by Sea

The dramatic story of twelve people—five adults and seven children—who undertook to escape from Poland in a small fishing vessel, and after many trials arrived in Denmark.

THE CUTTER WLA 19, "Krystyna," spent about three months "under repair." From morning to night one heard bangs and knocks and metal hitting metal somewhere deep inside the ship. The summer of 1960 was wet all over Poland and while everywhere else there were terrible floods, people in Kolobrzeg considered themselves lucky because the bad weather only brought downpours of rain.

Michal Kramicz, a 30-year-old fisherman, told his wife, 27-year-old Marianna, to make the best of the sunny days and send the children out to play around the cutter as much as possible. He himself worked on the boat and the kids felt good playing near their father. There were six of them: Wladzia, 10, Miccia, 7, Basia, 8, Mira, 4, Renatka, 3, and Jurek, 2.

There was no use telling the children why they had to play all day long, as loudly as they could, around the "Krystyna." Kramicz did not tell anybody else either why he had chosen that place as his children's playground. Only his wife and another man knew that Kramicz was getting the

children accustomed to the cutter. The port authorities, the captain of the port, etc., were informed that the cutter required very thorough repairs. Nobody questioned that, either. WLA 19 was built back in 1938 and had been serving on the Baltic Sea under difficult conditions ever since; most of the time without necessary check-ups or repairs. It was 53 feet long and had a 100 HP motor.

The Kramiczes were getting ready to escape from Poland. They had made the decision long ago. Everything they had lived through since 1939 told them that there was no other way. Kramicz had had many previous opportunities to get out but he had not wanted to leave without his family.

In the summer of 1960 a real opportunity had presented itself. An old friend, Jan Jagielski, owner of the "Krystyna," came to Kolobrzeg. He had once tried to escape from Poland but had been caught and prohibited from directing sea-faring vessels or sailing out to sea, and had been sentenced to a year of prison with a further two-year suspended sentence.

Hunger peers out of a hungry man's eyes, runs the Polish saying, and the Kramicz soon realized that Jagielski too was thinking of escape. They talked the problem over with him and decided to prepare the little ship for the getaway.

The Tank

With Jagielski, there would be a total of nine people. The "Krystyna" was too small to accommodate such a number without changes. After many a sleepless night the two men hit upon the idea of converting the boat's oil tank into a hiding place. They discussed this at length, for it seemed impossible at first to get six children and two adults (Kramicz was to be with the crew and stay on deck) into a tank with a capacity of 320 gallons. It was only about 31 inches high and standing would be impossible. It would even be a problem to sit comfortably because only one of its walls was perpendicular; the other side bulged in the shape of the hull. Furthermore, the entire tank was divided into relatively small partitions meant to stop excessive splashing in bad weather.

These had to be removed! The men got down to work. With the aid of hammer and chisel, day after day, month after month, patient and intent upon the goal, Jagielski and Kramicz removed the partitions. They could not ask anybody to help because the whole thing would leak out. The work was hard because it was difficult to cut the metal without leaving sharp edges, but there was no time for a fancy finish. This was no State Five Year Plan; they were in a hurry.

So, they were going to escape. But where to? That was a problem.

Jan Jagielski told Kramicz that he himself had always wanted to go to Denmark, which was a democratic country where political exiles were treated well. He said that he had been caught and punished for just such an attempt to go to Denmark. At that time there was a 30-year-old man named Jaroslaw Walentynowicz working in a nearby restaurant. The Kramicz knew this small, handsome, blond man and knew that he had escaped to Denmark on a fishing boat only to return to Poland after two years. He returned from Denmark! That was very interesting. The Kramicz came to the conclusion that they would have to talk to him and find out something about their destination, and above all why he had returned to Poland.

Hunger peers out of a hungry man's eyes, and the conversation had not gone far before Walentynowicz told Kramicz that his only thought was to get back to Denmark at the first opportunity. After that, things went faster. Kramicz told his wife and Jagielski about his talk with Walentynowicz and it was decided to invite him one evening to find out more about Denmark. At the same time it was decided to suggest that he go with them. Mrs. Kramicz had certain doubts as to the capacity of the "hole," as it came to be called, but one person more or less should not make all that difference. The fishing experts, Kramicz and Jagielski, figured that the stowaways would spend only two and a half hours in the hole and would then be let out on deck, so the cramped quarters would not be so hard on them. This convinced Marianna and she consented.

Walentynowicz was invited for a talk about Denmark and did not fail them. Not only did he describe Hans Christian Anderson's fatherland exhaustively and beautifully but once again expressed his desire to leave Poland. His reason for returning to Poland was more serious—he was not happy being in Denmark alone and after a time decided to return to Poland and take his 25-year-old wife Barbara and his four-year-old son Janusz back with him.

When he had returned to Poland the authorities grilled him and accused him time and again of being a Danish spy sent by NATO. He was even hit in the face. Finally he was sentenced to 12 months in prison with a two-year suspension. After he was released the authorities created such an atmosphere around him that even some of his acquaintances called him a traitor and a Danish spy. Under such circumstances it was no surprise that he wanted to leave the country with his wife and child as soon as possible.

The Kramicz and Jagielski let him talk himself out. All three were startled to learn that he was married and wanted to take his family along and none of them had the courage to propose a common flight. They were sorry for him, but on the other hand they could not imagine 11 people in an oil tank with a 320 gallon capacity. Thus they let him go without telling him their plans.

After he had left a lively discussion started. All the pros and cons were considered and they all came to the conclusion that they actually knew Walentynowicz better than they had thought. Besides, he was quite a nice guy. And anyway, it was only thanks to him that they knew so much about Denmark.

During the next few days they met peculiarly often with Walentynowicz and it seemed to them that he was making secretive faces. Somebody suggested that they could not be sure whether he was not saying one thing and doing another. Maybe he suspected something. Everybody in Poland is terribly suspicious, particularly people who are afraid of something or are trying to hide something.

This uncertainty finished Michal Kramicz off. He finally declared that they would invite Walentynowicz to go with them. If he was to give them away, let him do it now, not later, and if he was a decent fellow he and his family should be helped.

Marianna reminded them that it would be hard to get 11 people in the tank. Besides, people were saying that after Walentynowicz returned to Poland he wrote a lot of articles in various papers in which he talked very badly of Denmark. Was that not suspicious? Her husband hesitated for a moment. He said he would have to talk with Walentynowicz immediately and went right to the restaurant where he worked. To make it impossible for him to contact people abroad, the Polish authorities had forbidden him to work on the sea and that was why he held the poorer job of waiter.

Their talk did not last long and Walentynowicz convinced Kramicz of his good intentions. He had tears in his eyes as they discussed details of the trip and the date of departure.

Marianna had to give in. With the help of God they would manage somehow. She also admitted that it would

be good to have somebody who knew Denmark and something of the language.

The Start

Around August 8 Kramicz and Jagielski decided that they would start on the night of August 15-16. Work on removing the partitions was not finished yet but the long wait was beginning to tell on everybody's nerves. They decided to use welding torches to cut the metal although everybody knew it was a desperate measure. Not only was the tank full of fumes but there were even puddles of oil on the floor. They did try to wipe them away but somehow it was not enough. There could be an explosion any moment, but they finally got used to the thought because after all the whole thing was a string of desperate moves.

To protect the children from sharp edges, Mrs. Kramicz started to bring down blankets and feather covers from home. Nobody thought of provisions or anything else for the journey because they would be below deck for only about three hours and the trip to Bornholm would take about eight hours. A large amount of food on deck would cause suspicion.

All preparations were made in strict secrecy. Not even Kramicz's mother, who lived nearby, knew anything about it although she visited them every day. Various incidents, however, naturally brought her closer to the secret. One day she came to the Kramicz home when only the children were in. Granny's eyes suddenly fell upon the beds. She was used to seeing beds piled high with pillows and feather covers but now she saw dismally flat beds.

When Marianna Kramicz got home Granny asked her immediately, "What have you done with the bedclothes?" Luckily Marianna was prepared for just such a question and replied that she wanted to assure her husband a comfortable journey and that since the captain of the cutter had a slight cold she had lent him some warm bedclothes. Granny's face did not register belief but, on the other hand, why should she not believe?

Something worse happened another time. Jaroslaw Walentynowicz was the one person in the group who was convinced that the authorities never let him out of their sight. After making the decision to escape on the "Krystyna" he resigned from his job in the restaurant saying that he was going inland. He did this a week before sailing date in order not to attract anybody's attention. Still, he had to live somewhere during that week. Under the circumstances it was unthinkable to remain at home because the landlord would soon become suspicious. There was no other way but for Walentynowicz to hide out at the Kramiczes. At first everything went well. The older Kramicz children were obedient enough to their parents to take it for granted that Mr. Walentynowicz "had to" live with them and that nobody should know about it. The youngest could hardly talk. Besides, the children spent most of the day playing around the cutter.

One day the weather was not very good and the children remained at home. Around noon their Granny showed up on the path in front of the house. Walentynowicz saw her through the window and only had time to shout, "Wladzio,

shut the door," before crawling under the cot, the only hiding place available. But Wladzio did not have time to close the door. The old lady came in and began to greet the children. Walentynowicz saw everything through a hole in the bedspread. Suddenly Granny saw a jacket hanging on a peg.

"Whose jacket is that?" She moved closer and noticed Walentynowicz's coat hanging there too. "Whose coat is that?" came the next question.

The bright children all started to talk at once assuring her that they did not know and trying to get her off the subject. She, however, was quite annoyed with everything by then. Mother was not at home, bedclothes had vanished, strange clothes were hanging about the house, the housework was undone. "What clothes are these?" she repeated.

"Wladzio, don't say a thing," came the desperate whisper from under the cot.

Granny looked around the room. "What was that?" Wladzio pretended he did not know what she meant. He did it so well that Granny finally stopped trying to ask anything. Almost at the same moment there was a knock at the door that made Walentynowicz break into a cold sweat for fear it was the militia. They had come to get him, everything was lost, he would go to prison. More years of separation from his wife and child whom he loved above all else. But it was not the militia, just some friends of the Kramiczes, very decent people.

Granny started to play hostess and explain the absence of the real hosts. The guests took off their coats and proceeded to make themselves comfortable on the cot under which Walentynowicz lay. Little Wladzio lost his head completely and, not knowing what to do next, went to call his father to the rescue. Kramicz arrived rather quickly but his guests felt so good that they just would not go, and Walentynowicz spent three hours under the bed. After Granny and the guests finally left he was unable to come out on his own but had to be dragged out like a log.

The Crew

The "Krystyna" needed a crew of at least four. Kramicz was the only one of the group who could work the ship; Jagielski and Walentynowicz had been forbidden the sea and would be hiding in the hole with the women and children. It was necessary to hire the missing three crewmen. They could not be total strangers who would be indifferent to or, worse, against the operation. At least one more person would have to be taken into their confidence. Three trustworthy people were out of the question. Where could they be found? Kramicz knew only one man and he had to suffice. He would have to be let in on the plans. He was 30-year-old Alojzy Piasecki, a healthy, well-built and well-trained fisherman.

Piasecki was not talkative by nature. "Do you realize what you are proposing that I do?" he asked Kramicz. "Uhhmm," was all the astonished Kramicz could say. Were all his plans to fall through because of the lack of a trustworthy crew?

"I am married," Piasecki went on.

"Uhhmm, I know."

"If I am to help you I won't be able to return to Poland because they will get me as soon as I set foot on land."

"Well, stay in Denmark then."

"Gladly, but my wife must come with me."

That was not such a preposterous suggestion, but how would 12 people fit in the tank? Mrs. Kramicz threw up her hands when she heard about it all. "We shall never make it without Piasecki," her husband explained, "without him we might just as well forget the whole thing. Where are we to get the one man we need? We can't just announce in the papers that we need an unmarried fisherman, ready for anything, to organize an escape on a small cutter from Poland to Denmark. The risk is great. The pay nothing."

Just then Jagielski came in. After a short talk he suggested that they make a small experiment to see if all the people who were to take off in the "Krystyna" would actually fit into the tank.

That same evening a new game was organized in the home of the Kramiczes. The children even thought it quite funny that the grown-ups had such serious faces, at least at the beginning. Kramicz measured the tank out on the floor and each person was in turn fitted in. It was not easy and it soon became obvious that some of the children would have to sit on the laps of the adults. This was no ideal solution and although Kramicz reminded them all that they would not spend more than three hours in the tank, it was not a very encouraging reason to be happy about the trip. Mrs. Piasecki had the most misgivings and it seemed that she was not too eager to go.

This apparently impressed Walentynowicz. As he was getting up somebody pushed him and he leaned on Jagielski. They looked into each other's eyes. Walentynowicz's teeth were clenched, and finally he said to Jagielski, "Remember how those slobbs took it out on us? They didn't pamper you either, eh? I tell you, it is all the same whether we go with you or with anybody else, or alone, but we are getting out of here!"

Kramicz put his arms around the two, saying, "We shall stick together."

Under the influence of the general emotion Mrs. Piasecki finally made up her mind. Like her husband, she is not talkative. "Well, when do we go?" she asked.

The voyage of the cutter WLA 19 "Krystyna" with 14 refugees was finally set for a definite date.

Two men were still needed to complete the crew. The WLA 19 was a private unit (which is rare in Poland) and hiring a crew was much simpler than on a State ship. In a hotel Kramicz found two men he had never seen before and they agreed to go with him on the same conditions as Piasecki—they were to get 12½ percent of the income. One of them was a captain, the other a ship's mechanic. He told them that they would leave on the night of August 15. The port-captain of Kolobrzeg approved their employment.

Piasecki took care of the two men during the time when the stowaways would be boarding the boat, which would be between nine and eleven at night. He took them to dinner, "on the boss," that is, Kramicz. He himself drank very little in order to keep a clear mind. Five or six more

hours and everything would be over. The days are very long in August and Kramicz had said specifically that it would be tragic if he returned with the men too early. So after the drawn-out dinner Piasecki took them to the station to buy some cigarettes and treated them to some beer.

The Dark

Meanwhile, the refugees were boarding the cutter one by one. So far everything was going smoothly. Everybody settled down in the hole and now they were only waiting for Piasecki and the two men. They even began to get impatient and thought Piasecki was exaggerating with his caution.

There was silence in the fuel tank. The children had been told that they were going to visit an aunt. One of them asked why they were going by cutter; travel by water is not yet popular in Poland. Their mother explained that "auntie" lived on the other side of the canal. That was enough. The children were then told that they would have to be very still, otherwise "the militia men would take Daddy."

Finally Kramicz heard Piasecki talking loudly on land, which was a signal that everything was alright.

It started to get hot in the hole. The captain and the mechanic came on board and the moorings were immediately removed. The great adventure began. The cutter first headed for the "Barka" station, which serves the fishing fleet, to get ice for preserving the catch. As they were loading the ice the ship's lights went out. This took Kramicz and Piasecki completely by surprise. The crew tried to fix the damage as quickly as possible but they could not find the cause. Kramicz called an electrician but he only declared after a short look around that he could not do a job like that at night.

Meanwhile there were seven children and five adults in the tank. Not only did some of the children have to sit on other people's laps but everybody was crowding on top of everybody else. Somebody sat down on Mrs. Kramicz's foot, pressing it to the hard metal floor.

Kramicz tried to repair the light, the thought of the miserable people below never leaving his mind. At one point he had the terrible idea that perhaps the mechanic had suspected something and had damaged the electric system to make it impossible for them to leave. He would later turn them all over to the police. Or perhaps he was trying to warn them against something. Taking advantage of a moment's absence of the two crewmen, Kramicz told Piasecki of his doubts.

"Do you think so?" asked his friend and gave a strange glance at his flare pistol. This made Kramicz change his mind very quickly and he calmed his friend saying that he must have been imagining things. Everybody's nerves were beginning to fail.

Below deck things were getting rapidly worse. The maximum three hours they had always talked of had passed long ago. Sleeping pills stopped working and the little children woke up. The heat was unbearable. The boat's engine was silent and the adults whispered their worst

(Continued on page 28)



Rumania Today (Bucharest) No. 5, 1959

Jobs and Futures

Choosing a Career in Eastern Europe

"I REPORT to the Party that I have fulfilled the mission that the Party organization, the collective of the factory, entrusted me with: I have been graduated from the faculty of Metallurgy of the Polytechnical Institute in Bucharest. Until 1956, I worked as a founder at the Victoria Factory in Calan. The Communists from the factory urged me to study, and gave me the task of preparing myself for engineering. Now, at the end of five years of study, I am proud that I was worthy of the faith the Party had in me, giving me the opportunity to study. From a foundryman, I have become a metallurgical engi-

neer. The fulfillment of my dream is bound up with the Party, with its plans. Therefore, like every young man, like every working man in our country, I consider the Party's plans my duty, and I will dedicate all my forces to their achievement." (*Scinteia Tineretului* [Bucharest], June 19, 1960.)

Nobody with any knowledge of the circumstances of life in Eastern Europe would be inclined to take the above "report" literally: what it expresses has more relevance to theory than fact, to the Communist leadership's ambition of commanding the unswerving dedication of the people

they claim to have liberated from the injustices of the past. It also reflects the Communist vision of a perfectly planned economy, that is, of a society in which the workers' aspirations are indistinguishable from those of the government, in which every man willingly takes up the post assigned him, dictated by the meticulously worked-out needs of industrial and agricultural production.

Although this utopia exists only as the stuff of propaganda, the Communists nevertheless have made great strides in the transformation of postwar East European society. They have gone a long way toward industrializing what were formerly peasant-based societies and, in the process, have increased the educational and career horizons of peasants and workers. In 1937-38, according to regime statistics, only 2.7 percent of all Hungarian university students were of worker origin, and 0.8 percent came from the peasantry; by 1957-58, these percentages had been upped in the case of workers to 32.6 percent and of peasants to 21.2.

However, the human and social costs of rapid industrialization have been high, and en route to Communism the regimes have incurred much resentment—not only from the much-maligned “petty-bourgeois” and intellectual classes. They have aroused the antagonism of peasants and workers who stubbornly cling to old traditions and prejudices, and have provoked bitterness among the very people who originally might have welcomed, and in some respects have benefited from, their rule.

Part of the trouble stems from the Communist disregard for the “human factor.” Every civilization breeds discontents, and the Communist system breeds much of it through its sheer adherence to numbers. When the regimes state, as the Czechoslovak regime recently did, that in 1960, 25,000 youngsters will go into heavy industry, 31,000 into agriculture, 10,000 into light industry, 9,000 into building, and 5,000 into transport and communications, etc., they mean pretty much what they say, and give only scant consideration to individual preferences. The leeway for opposition is small, and when it seems to be growing too great “administrative methods” are used to guarantee the fulfillment of plans.

To provide the economy with the kind of workers it needs, the Communists are now seeking to train young people at an early age. The regimes throughout the area recently have revised their educational systems to include polytechnical training, which means that students must become versed in some aspects of material production. In Bulgaria, one-third of the study time of university students is to be spent at this task, and opposition from factory managers or parents has been greeted with sharp official rebukes.

When it comes to allocating labor, the Communists are equally indifferent to individual desires. Specialists graduating from Bulgarian universities are obliged to work where they are assigned for a period of three years; if they were recipients of scholarships, their period of assignment lasts five years. Young agronomists who reject their assignments are deprived by law of holding positions in their specialty and those who had scholarships must return them with interest. In Romania, technicians who have

been assigned to jobs are prohibited from holding administrative posts or positions unconnected with their specialties. To allay criticism of such methods, the Communists claim that they have virtually banished unemployment; this is not always true, nor is it necessarily a consolation to the people involved.

The cooperation of young people in furthering Communist production plans is often a determining factor in their success. While seasoned workers are pressed to improve their qualifications by further education (a policy which partly results from the need to increase labor productivity and to eliminate a situation in which untrained persons, promoted in the earlier years of industrialization, hold important posts), young people are promised better opportunities if they start life in material production.

This is why the size of the youth camps for voluntary summer labor has been increasing in Hungary. This is also why Hungarian students who were rejected by the universities this year because of lack of space are seeking factory jobs; the Kadar regime has promised that a good work recommendation will facilitate their admission next year. The Communists also further their production goals by regulating the size of each university faculty: the person who wants to be an engineer has a better chance of getting into a university than a student who is interested in writing movie scenarios.

Aside from work, a young person's chances in Eastern Europe are determined by his social origin and Party affiliations. An approved Party youth league member is, in this sense, a first-class citizen worthy of certain advantages; the son of a “class alien” is worthy of little. Thus, in order to ensure themselves of an education, young people in the Soviet orbit often conform to Party prerequisites on



Polish girls learning how to become professional seamstresses. *Nowa Wies (Warsaw), April 24, 1960*

the surface, and desperate parents try bribery. And while the Parties themselves are bound to succeed in enforcing certain achievements, they are destined to confront certain psychological attitudes which inevitably weaken the system from within.

Leading Horses to Water

DESPITE ALL the powers at their command, the Communist planners are persistently thwarted by what they call "bourgeois social prejudices." Neither propaganda nor pressure has overcome the traditional view that physical labor is not the most desirable kind of work, and while young people, in self-preservation, will undertake voluntary labor or join the Party youth leagues to assure themselves of educational opportunities, they frequently go to great lengths to avoid the very jobs the regimes want them to fill. One article in the Czechoslovak press claimed, for example, that 3,000 graduates of 11-year schools were jobless because they refused to accept manual work.¹ This attitude is typical of students throughout Eastern Europe, and the overwhelming preference for desk jobs has provoked unceasing official complaints about young people's "love of easy living" and their contempt for the "noble tasks of Socialist construction."

Although status considerations are a primary factor in determining the outlook of youth, the aversion for physical labor is caused, in many cases, by the poor working and living conditions involved. Of all occupations, farming seems to be the least desirable: enrollment in Communist agricultural colleges is low and graduates, hoping for administrative posts, doggedly avoid being sent to collectives.

In some cases the fear of ending up in the provinces evidently overrides any other consideration, and many a young person prefers to throw his training to the winds rather than leave the big city. To put a stop to this practice, Bulgaria's regime issued stringent regulations on the placement of young specialists in various parts of the country, making it illegal for officials in large cities to hire graduates assigned elsewhere. A number of young people, however, continue to risk the dangers and refuse to comply. With the help of managers, they get work as secretaries or laboratory technicians in Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna instead of taking up provincial posts in engineering, agronomy and teaching.²

A Lost Woman

Exposing the "draft-dodgers" has become a mission of the Party press. One recent article recorded the case of a young chemistry teacher who went into hiding after being assigned to the Smolian district. When interviewed, the girl's mother complained: "My daughter is offended. She feels neglected. Is it for this that she has worked five years? She has been to Rome, Moscow, Dresden, Budapest, Belgrade as a basketball player. Now what will she do in Smolian? She will be lost as a woman and an athlete. A position in Sofia could still be found. There is a demand for chemists."³

Another young woman, assigned to the Haskovo district



Educating young tractor drivers on one of Romania's State farms.
Rumania Today (Bucharest), No. 8, 1959

as a music teacher, fled into a Varna restaurant orchestra. Altogether some 34 young teachers were accused of "wire-pulling" in Sofia last fall to escape banishment to the provinces. One Communist newspaper reported dismally that almost half of the graduates of the Bulgarian State Conservatory did not turn up in their assigned posts and tried every which way to remain in the capital.⁴ Furthermore, many of the specialists who do go to the provinces leave long before their three-year period of assignment has expired. This was the case in Blagoevgrad, where a number of young specialists arrived late and reluctantly, and proceeded to violate "labor discipline":

"This continued three or four months. Then these specialists, who had been sent with great hopes and gladly welcomed in the district, began making proposals for quitting, and by the beginning of November 1959 they were leaving one by one without, however, taking into consideration the consequences of their irresponsible behavior."⁵

Career Preferences

The Communists have troubles long before they have specialists, and judging from their criticisms "irresponsibility" begins at an early age. One of the major sources of official frustration is that not enough young people willingly select careers required by the economy. To ensure the development of qualified cadres in crucial sectors, and to restrict the number of graduates in "incidental"

fields, the regimes regulate the number of students allowed in each university department. This practice inevitably guarantees the labor market a steady supply of trained personnel for expanding industries, but the system is not foolproof and presents a variety of practical and psychological problems. In many instances, such indirect coercion produces misfits, indolent students, and professionals who lack ambition and interest in their work. For this reason, the Communist press frequently displays concern about the "misconceptions" of youth and the absence in young people of a sense of "Socialist mission."

"Unreasonable Youth"

In Poland, the "inappropriate" career choices of high school graduates seeking university education have been the subject of much press discussion. One article in the Party youth paper noted that, in the current academic year, the "greatest rush" had been in the field of Mediterranean archeology, where the number of candidates far exceeded the university openings:

"Interesting? Candidate X, asked why he chose this branch of studies, answered: 'Well, Professor, I like travelling.' It may also be said that this is a judgment on our schools. The high school teacher should be concerned with the choice of studies of a young man guided by the school. In Poland, this is planned and that is planned, the economy is waiting for specialists, industry is waiting for engineers, agriculture is waiting for agronomists, and the young man could not care less. If an appeal to common sense is not enough, then simple administrative arguments should be used. This cannot go on."⁶

The general complaint in the Polish press is that the career choices of university students are inversely proportional to the everyday needs of the employment market.⁷ That is, the most popular courses are in the field of liberal arts whereas relatively little interest is shown in agriculture, the physical sciences and in polytechnical studies. The same trend is apparent in Czechoslovakia, with the result that the universities are forced to turn away scores of students interested in specializing in a field such as philology, while great effort is required to fill openings in engineering schools.⁸

The results of a recent poll taken by the Polish Ministry of Higher Education provided detailed information on the discrepancy between the students' desires and the regimes' needs. The survey of high school graduates showed that the most popular courses were in the field of art history—2.7 applicants for each available opening; oriental philology—2.2 candidates per opening; and sociology—1.1. Less popular were physics—0.9 applicants per opening; mathematics—0.8; and geophysics—0.3. The fields described as "threatened" by a shortage of candidates included: metallurgy; mining, mechanics; foodstuff technology; textiles; transport; all agricultural studies with the exception of forestry, veterinary medicine and gardening; and economics, with the exception of foreign trade and maritime studies. The findings disclosed that the students were not basing their choices on career opportunities and were either indifferent to or unaware of the fact that graduates

in art history already had a "catastrophic" time finding employment.

Things Are Not What They Seem

The "unrealistic" attitude of Polish youth has led some writers to charge them with absurdity and even madness. Other commentators, however, have exonerated young people, placing the blame on what roughly might be called their environment. The lack of enthusiasm for science, for instance, was attributed by one writer to poor educational facilities and limited job opportunities. In travelling around the country, he said, he had found that almost none of the high schools had well-equipped laboratories. Scientific teaching on the whole was dry, students had little chance to make experiments and, as a result, any youthful fascination with chemistry and physics was nipped in the bud. Another aspect of the problem was revealed in interviews with practicing scientists, who claimed that journalists had greatly exaggerated the number of openings in the field. One engineer who had studied for his doctorate while working in a factory explained that despite his superior qualifications he had little hope of being promoted:

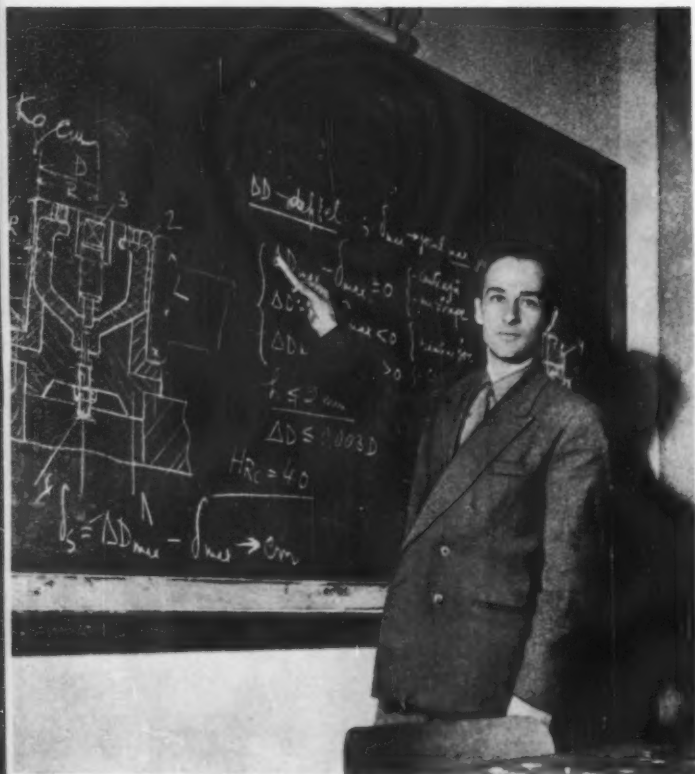
"Everyone admits that I should be, but firstly, the wage fund limitations will not allow this and, secondly, the positions which I theoretically could get are already filled by other people, even worthy people, but without so much as a secondary school diploma. They would have to be demoted. And besides, aside from being unable to suggest such a thing, I actually like and respect these people. How would I feel taking their place? I prefer to move to another plant where I'll find better working conditions and a more responsible position. So long as I am young, such changes cannot harm me and may even do me some good. But can we afford to tolerate the fact that, after many years when people were upgraded before being ready, we now have reached the other extreme where people in industry—here, I have in mind those in engineering—are hardly being promoted at all? Why do journalists keep on writing about perspectives?"

A physicist who was interviewed maintained that in



Left: A young Bulgarian teacher who refused assignment to the provinces. Right: A mother whose daughter had "hid" to avoid going.

Narodna Mladost (Sofia), November 14, 1960



One of Romania's new engineers—a former lathe operator who, after winning the "Order of Labor" in 1949, went on to higher studies. *Romania Today* (Bucharest), No. 5, 1960

Poland science did not receive the attention it merited and that the chances of advancement were small. In finding some temporary work while waiting for a university post, he said, he was luckier than most of his friends who were married and unable to afford such a luxury:

"They say I have a future and I can't complain. At meetings, I don't even join those who say that assistants are underpaid. Maybe we'll get more some day. However, I am concerned with something else. We are working in a vacuum. Nobody hears about the results of our work. At times our achievements are praised abroad. We have successes at international congresses. And if one out of ten of these achievements ever receives mention in the Polish press or on the radio, we are pleasantly surprised. And yet, it is enough for two poets to go to Czechoslovakia, and the whole country reads about it in the papers. If one of our writers has a novel translated abroad, there immediately is a lot of noise about it: I know that in all economically poor countries writers and poets are accorded the status of bards and prophets, and statues are raised in their honor. How many statues are there in Poland in honor of Mickiewicz and how many in honor of Copernicus? Please don't misunderstand me, I don't want advertising. Science doesn't like it. But can we afford—in the second half of the 20th century—to pretend that we do not have a science of our own?"¹⁰

Delinquent Students

AN EXPANSION of scientific activity in Eastern Europe most probably would stimulate interest in science which in the US, for instance, now offers manifold opportunities for ambitious youngsters. More difficult to solve is the problem of recruiting energetic, trained personnel in undermanned or underdeveloped fields which have less appeal for the educated. Equally complicated is the problem of misfits. Students who are not allowed to study what they want tend to lose incentive, make half-hearted workers in other fields, and often reduce their goals to the quest for minimal material comforts. Frustrations in career ambitions are, of course, not limited to Communist societies, but exist wherever the demand for a particular kind of labor is smaller than the supply. The Communist policy of limiting the number of students in each field is aimed at making the supply coincide with the demand. Under ideal circumstances, this conceivably might eliminate unemployment and unhealthy competition on the labor market; what it could not eliminate, however, is the disappointment of youngsters set on a certain career despite the risks and disadvantages involved. And there is little evidence to show that such youngsters in Communist Europe are grateful for being deprived of struggle.

Lack of interest on the part of students who, for one reason or another, end up specializing in the less popular branches—often because the departments of their choice had no room for them—accounts for some of the drop-outs from universities. In Czechoslovakia, 30 percent of all university students leave school before completing their courses; in evening and correspondence courses, drop-outs amount to 50 percent. This situation recently came under the scrutiny of the Party Central Committee, which condemned the "grave conditions" this caused in engineering, foundry, building, agricultural and scientific departments such as mathematics and physics—all of which were described as crucial to the economy. The Party leadership placed part of the blame on the universities themselves because they allegedly had "overburdened" students and imparted "old-fashioned" and "one-sided" knowledge. The result is that now teachers and pedagogical workers will be "personally answerable" for the "results achieved" as well as for the quality of graduates.

Such an oversimplified approach cannot be expected to solve the issue. The reluctance of students to complete their studies obviously depends on numerous factors, including family and financial pressures, living conditions, natural aptitude and, in many instances, the actual helpfulness of higher education in enabling them to get on in life. Engineering as a career evidently has lost favor in the eyes of many young East Europeans because the economic and social rewards do not compensate for the effort involved in acquiring a degree.

Problems in Agriculture

In agriculture, the regimes not only have trouble in recruiting students for higher education, but also in getting graduates to work in the field. The Romanian press con-

tinually issues doleful complaints about agronomists who fear that "life in the countryside is painful." Rather than face the deadliness of village existence, one trained expert took a job in a Cluj brewery and another became a typist. "The place for our agronomists," exclaimed one newspaper, "is in the countryside where they can use their knowledge. And it is also the place for all others who have graduated from higher educational institutions and who now have the duty of placing their knowledge at the service of the villages."¹¹

Young people who do enter agriculture despite rural conditions and the ravages of collectivization often feel that a university education is superfluous or too difficult. In Poland, the regime recently complained about the decreasing enrollment in higher agricultural schools by graduates of secondary agricultural-technical schools, who prefer to go straight into production. This tendency has resulted in a drop in the qualifications of young agricultural workers. To combat this attitude, the Party has stepped up its scholarship program in the countryside, and begun analyzing the role that the college entrance examinations and the secondary-school syllabuses have played in this decrease.¹²

In Czechoslovakia, a similar situation exists. The Secretary of one local national committee recently reported that out of 350 adults in his community only four had some professional training in agriculture, and only nine youngsters had become apprentices: "Today money is not absolutely necessary to study, but young people don't feel like going to school. Everyone wants to make money at once so that he can buy a motorcycle or a scooter. Thus the opportunity which the State gives to young people remains unused."

That economic circumstances frequently do play a part in the reluctance of young people to study is corroborated by numerous articles on shortcomings in the Communist educational programs. It is not only the desire for a motorcycle but often for a decent home which motivates young people. In Czechoslovakia, one peasant youth announced that he was giving up farming altogether because his eldest brother would inherit the family cottage and he would have to spend his best years building his own place: "After all, I won't even be able to get married. . . . I don't know whether I could find a girl in our place who would be interested in such a marriage. . . . For a few years, we would have to put everything into the building. Do I have to do this? I can go to the mines, get a nice new apartment with a bathroom and central heating, and I'll be fine."¹³

"Fashionable" Trades

The career choices of youngsters who do not go on to higher educational institutions also often conflict with the demands of the labor market. The Hungarian regime has waged a persistent campaign to dissuade youngsters from seeking work in so-called fashionable trades. Every year, too many of the nation's 40,000 to 50,000 graduates of lower schools apply for jobs as automobile mechanics, cosmeticians, hair-dressers and laboratory assistants, instead

of turning to agriculture or to work as locksmiths, bricklayers, lathe operators, etc. In 1959, Labor Minister Odon Kishazi issued stern warnings about the results of such "folly," but in 1960 the trend continued. In the spring of the year, the Party daily asked whether anything positive had been done to guard against overapplication in fashionable trades and came up with a negative reply.¹⁴

No Blessings From Parents

In a number of instances, the regimes' plans for the allocation of labor are opposed by parents. In Prague, for instance, parents objected to the fact that their children were offered jobs outside the city which would necessitate their living away from home. The Party daily complained that but for this attitude many young people leaving school at 14 could find jobs as bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters, stonecutters, miners, foundry workers, etc. It pooh-poohed the fears of the parents, explaining that the enterprises involved were hardly at the end of the world.¹⁵

A good many adults resent the fact that their children are pressed to do physical work and believe that their education has prepared them for "something better." The Bulgarian government faced opposition both from parents and youngsters, particularly high school graduates, in its campaign to recruit young people for work on collective farms. The young people displayed a "haughty" attitude toward collective tasks, and the parents, because of "a lack of understanding and bitter experience in the past, when work in livestock breeding was very difficult," did not want their children to enter that branch of the economy. Because of this, the Party called for "explanatory work," showing why educated youngsters with a knowledge of biology and chemistry were crucial to the modernization of livestock breeding.

The Weaker Sex

OF PARTICULAR concern is the placement of young girls. Despite Soviet-type pictures in the press showing East European women happily engaged in heavy labor, the fact is that young women dislike physical work or jobs which they feel are more appropriate for men. Their preference is for careers as seamstresses, secretaries, cosmeticians, etc., but there are too few openings available. Furthermore, just as the girls are prejudiced against technical and industrial positions, the enterprises themselves are prejudiced against hiring them.

In Czechoslovakia, the reluctance of women to become industrial apprentices has come under severe press criticism. One publication recently pointed out that women tended to earn an average of 25 percent less than men because of their inferior qualifications. On the basis of the Party's plan, about 43 percent of all Czechoslovak girls completing their compulsory education are destined for work as industrial apprentices, and official spokesmen have declared that they had better get used to the idea. Industrial enterprises have been told to discard their prejudices against women workers and to ignore the fact that women interrupt their employment to bear and raise children: "Nor

must other difficulties connected with the employment of women be decisive in rejecting them as apprentices. Here, too, it is necessary to take into consideration the interests of society as a whole instead of being concerned primarily with the interests of the enterprise or with short-term matters of profitability."¹⁶

In Hungary, the regime has rejected as erroneous the previous policy of employing women in jobs which require considerable physical strength. At the same time, however, it now charges enterprises with "falling into the opposite exaggeration," that is, with displaying a blanket opposition to women workers in every industrial field. Women, the Party maintains, are well-suited for work in communications, catering and domestic trade; they could become skilled dental technicians, watchmakers, welders, and workers in the precision instruments industry. But too few of them are trained. In 1958, for instance, only 40 women in the entire country were apprentices in the precision instruments industry, and only 8 girls were apprentices in transportation. "We, the men," the Party daily exclaimed in one editorial on the subject, "should put our hands to our hearts and admit that we are still full of prejudices inherited from the past. We have to try to get rid of them."¹⁷

This bias allegedly led one young woman to voice her dissatisfaction in a letter to the press. She described how she had given up office work and had learned to become a driver, but despite her abilities could not get work because only men with experience were wanted: "I have done what many shun, changed my desk for a wheel, despite the fact that I come from the intelligentsia . . . and yet I cannot become a skilled worker because of the simple fact that I am not permitted to work."¹⁸ Evidently, the male prejudice against women drivers is an inter-societal phenomenon.

Peasants and Workers

THE COMMUNISTS also have trouble in getting the people they want in better jobs. The aim of all the regimes in the postwar period has been to raise a new elite recruited from the ranks of workers and peasants who, because of the opportunities given them, will be loyal advocates and servants of the system. There are, of course, innumerable testimonies to the Communist failure in this regard, the Hungarian Revolt of 1956 constituting the most telling demonstration of youth's "ingratitude." Propaganda organs, however, constantly extol the new opportunities that were opened to the working classes with the advent of "Socialism." One article in the Romanian press described the case of one boy who had wanted to become an engineer but who had been forced to work as an uneducated bricklayer until the Communist takeover. Then he was able to realize his dreams:

"Dreams are coming true. . . . Simple workers have become graduate engineers, scientists, university teachers, physicians, lawyers, geologists. Thousands more have their sights on similar achievements, and are now studying . . . for professions formerly reserved for the very few."²⁰

This sort of propaganda tends to conceal the fact that many young workers and peasants are not fired with the ambition that the Parties would like them to have, and not only show indifference to the Party's call for dedicated workers in certain economic branches, but to higher education in general. In Romania, the regime decided in 1957 that some 75 percent of the students admitted to institutions of higher learning had to come from the class of peasants or workers. Other regimes in the area have set their sights lower, but evidently have difficulty in maintaining a simple working class majority.

Peasant youth appears to present the greatest problem. In 1960, only about 20 percent—or 3,303—of the students attending Polish institutions of higher learning came from the peasantry (42 percent came from "the intelligentsia," 30 percent from the working class, and 8 percent from other backgrounds).²¹ The number of peasant students has declined steadily since 1953, which is considered a peak year, when 25 percent—or 6,087—of the students were of peasant origin.²² The Party press has disclosed that peasant youth does poorly at school in comparison with students from other social backgrounds, and that about ¾ of the peasant students lose out in academic competition by the first year of secondary school.* To offset this trend, it has been suggested that the regime expand the development of youth hostels and scholarships for peasant youth.

Academic Problems

Some of the blame for the poor academic achievements of students from worker and peasant backgrounds is placed on the home environment. The regimes frequently point out that intellectuals help their children in their work, whereas young peasants and workers require more help from outside. The regimes also justify their policy of dis-

* In 1960, about 40 percent of the peasant college students entered schools for agronomy and physical training. About 15 percent entered medical academies and universities.



Study-time at a Bulgarian school for training girl agronomists. *Bulgaria Today* (Sofia), No. 8, 1960

crimination against children of the intelligentsia by asserting that good marks are not the only criteria for determining whether a young person is fit college material. Simultaneously, official organs display great concern with the fact that working class parents discourage their children from continuing their studies. An article in the Czechoslovak Party paper said:

"While sometimes we fail to persuade a workers' family to send a child of extraordinary ability to study, a petty-bourgeois-minded family usually protests if their child with average or below-average abilities is not admitted to study. . . . Let us not close our eyes to the fact that even now there appears in the ranks of our intelligentsia a tendency to have a condescending attitude toward manual work, to an overestimation of their own task. . . . Besides, if we underestimated the class viewpoint, practice in life would create in time such conditions that studying would become almost the hereditary privilege of children of the intelligentsia, whereas the children of workers again would practically be predestined for manual work."²³

Sometimes the parents object to the further education of their children because of financial problems. In Hungary, the Party paper recently bewailed the fact that 28.8 percent of the children enrolled in elementary school left without completing the eighth grade: "It is true that there are families with many children, in difficult material circumstances. Nevertheless, the parent who tolerates the non-completion of school will pay a high price for such thoughtlessness, as will his child."²⁴

In Czechoslovakia, the same complaint was made. The Party daily protested that many bright children did not continue studying because their "people" did not want them to: "We sometimes hear voices that the education of a young person means a certain reduction in family income as compared with those families where children start to earn money earlier. However, such a temporary reduction pays off later for the young person, and the fact is, that owing to our scholarship policy, the actual sacrifices are small indeed."²⁵

The regimes' desire to have their universities filled primarily by apt, dedicated students from the working classes clearly presents difficulties. Children of the intelligentsia often lie about their parentage in the hopes of getting a good start in life, and complaints by middle class parents about the treatment of their children are not uncommon. In Hungary, the regime recently has taken a conciliatory line. The Party paper announced that preferential consideration will be given to children of worker or peasant origin only until the proportion of such students in the universities reaches 50-55 percent. However, the regime also warned about the necessity of "guarding" working class interests: "Even now care must be taken in some places . . . that talented worker and peasant youths are not placed in a disadvantageous position as a result of the attainment of this ratio."^{26*}

* In general, the universities cannot accommodate all the students. In Hungary, 17,000 students applied to the universities in 1960; only 7,850 were admitted. As for applications in specific departments, in 1959, 900 students applied to the department of philosophy in Budapest University, and only 225 were admitted. More than 500 of the applicants were reported to have had ex-

Other difficulties in "educating" the working class are reflected in Communist complaints in their scholarship and "study-while-you-work" programs. In Czechoslovakia, plant and regional scholarships were introduced three years ago for the purpose of getting the recipients—mainly working class members—to work in the factory or region for a period of five years after completion of their studies. In 1959, little headway was made in this area. The plants awarded less than 200 scholarships, and the regime took them to task for their indifference.²⁷ The study-while-you-work programs have also met with resistance from plant managers, who resent employees taking time off to prepare for their examinations. And although the regimes claim that a great many uneducated workers are going to school and improving their professional qualifications, they frequently admit that coercion is necessary and that the general level of adult education is low. An indication of this was given by the Hungarian pedagogical review, which revealed:

"In the current school year [1960] the number of students rose from 55,000 to 117,000—more than twice that of last year. The main reason is that today workers are required . . . to acquire the proper school degrees; in some cases, the workers are compelled by administrative methods to complete their studies. This is not to be condemned, but we must achieve a situation in which workers desire to attain a higher level of culture . . . and to acquire professional knowledge without being coerced."²⁸

SOURCES FOR THIS ARTICLE

- ¹ *PRACE* (Prague), September 22, 1958
- ² *RABOTNICHESKO DELO* (Sofia), October 16, 1960
- ³ *NARODNA MLADEJ* (Sofia), October 2, 1960
- ⁴ *NARODNA KULTURA* (Sofia), October 1, 1960
- ⁵ *ZEMEDEL'SKE ZNAME* (Sofia), February 17, 1960
- ⁶ *SZTANDAR MŁODYCH* (Warsaw), August 18, 1960
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- ¹⁰ *SWIAT* (Warsaw), August 7, 1960
- ¹¹ *ROMINIA LIBERA* (Bucharest), July 8, 1960
- ¹² *SLOWO POWSZECHNE* (Warsaw), May 19, 1960
- ¹³ *ZEMEDEL'SKE ZNAME* (Sofia), June 23, 1960
- ¹⁴ *NEPSZABADSAG* (Budapest), April 13, 1960
- ¹⁵ *HOSPODARSKE NOVINY* (Prague), July 25, 1960
- ¹⁶ *NEPSZABADSAG* (Budapest), October 16, 1959
- ¹⁷ *NEPSZABADSAG* (Budapest), September 23, 1959
- ¹⁸ *RUDE PRAVO* (Prague), June 15, 1959
- ¹⁹ *NARODNA MLADEJ* (Sofia), November 5, 1959
- ²⁰ *ROMANIA TODAY* (Bucharest), November 5, 1960
- ²¹ *Radio Warsaw*, May 20, 1960
- ²² *ZIELONY SZTANDAR* (Warsaw), October 2, 1960
- ²³ *RUDE PRAVO* (Prague), February 4, 1959
- ²⁴ *NEPSZABADSAG* (Budapest), January 20, 1960
- ²⁵ *RUDE PRAVO* (Prague), January 31, 1959
- ²⁶ *NEPSZABADSAG* (Budapest), June 14, 1959
- ²⁷ *RUDE PRAVO* (Prague), January 26, 1959
- ²⁸ *KOZNEVELES* (Budapest), February 24, 1960

cellent grades. Similarly, applications at the faculty of medicine were reported to be several times larger than the number of students who could be admitted. The rejected students have the choice of applying to other faculties or of applying in the following year.

A Defense of the Detective Story

by MARIETTA SHAGINYAN

The Western detective novel is well known in Eastern Europe, although until recently most readers had to supply themselves from the stock of prewar translations. When the Communist censors became more tolerant after 1955, a few translations of contemporary whodunits appeared on the bookstands and were immensely popular. However, this form of art is still frowned upon by the highest authorities for its escapism and its obsession with crime, and is practically unavailable in the USSR.

This lyrical essay appeared in the Prague weekly, Literarni Noviny, on October 15, 1960. Its author is a Soviet Armenian writer, born in 1888, who has devoted her life to the most orthodox kind of "Socialist realism." After producing many books about textile factories, copper mines, hydroelectric plants, etc., she was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1951 for her book Journey in Soviet Armenia.

MANY TIMES IN MOSCOW they were on the point of doing what was actually done recently in Prague. It almost happened here but then it was postponed, maybe because of over-noisy newspaper criticism. And then *Mlada Fronta* (Prague) published one of Agatha Christie's novels—and no lightning struck, heaven didn't open, no hurdles were put up. It turned out that the book is beautifully written, has artistic justification and is, in a sense, instructive and deeply realistic. So I think it is just about time to consider seriously the issue of so-called detective fiction, novels about crimes and their investigation, a genre very popular all over the world. To ignore the question whether novels of this type should be translated (or written) is impossible, if for no other reason than that young people yearn for literature which captivates them from the first page on. And an answer to this question must be reasonable and wise.

What is a detective novel actually, and why do we look at it with suspicion? I have read many critical essays written by people who had never read a detective novel in the original, because they did not know any foreign language. Since such novels are not translated here, these critics probably have a poor knowledge of the subject they are discussing. And those critics who do have expert knowledge of detective novels in the original are, God knows why, like Janus with his two faces: they have not a single good word for detective novels in their critical articles, yet privately they are crazy about them. Thus, e.g., a prominent expert on English literature, critic Korney Chukovski, made a desperate phone call some time ago from his hos-

pital bed asking his friends to send him some detective novels he needed "as badly as fresh air itself." At the same time, however, he published an article tearing into pieces all detective stories, mixing the English with the American, the classical with the trashy, detective novels with comic books. Since that time I have had doubts as to the arguments of some critics on this matter.

Detective novels—in our country as well as in the West—have some very demanding readers. These include great scientists, academicians, inventors, explorers, and public personalities who cannot sleep unless they have read ten or twelve pages of a detective story by their night lamp. Then there are the men of art who have whole bookshelves of beloved authors. Add millions of rank-and-file readers—and it is hard to say who in fact does not read detective stories. But what is it that attracts serious-minded people, great specialists, thinkers, scientists, to such books?

A detective novel—like no other type of literature in the world—is subject in the West to an enormous pressure of competition. The demand is so great that many writers take up the genre simply to get a publisher and thus a source of income. However, bad detective novels find no market. In order to win a mass readership and cover practically the whole planet, you have to write a good, clever book. The best detective novels have just these qualities and their authors belong among the best writers. Any other book, though it may be boring and dull, will rest on a bookshelf as long as its intention is good, as long as its material has some intrinsic value, as long as it contains some useful data. But everyone throws away a boring and dull detective story. It is simply trash. Thus under the gigantic pressure of competition only the best detective novels, meeting the most demanding taste, get onto the shelves of bookstores and libraries. Excellent prose, artful composition, clear and original plot, well-drawn characters, easy reading—all these make an intellectually tired reader chase after the books of such authors as the "old" A. E. W. Mason or A. K. Green, "young" Agatha Christie, Earl Derr Biggers, Erle Stanley Gardner, Dorothy Sayers, Ngaio Marsh and scores of others! But this is only one reason.

The orthodox Western novels that reach our libraries (and second-hand bookshops) labelled subjectively as books primarily "uncovering capitalism" or as books of "high artistic qualities" almost invariably contain an abundance of futility and gloom. The great humanity of their heroes, e.g., in Remarque's novels, never outweighs their despair. In their world of melancholy without perspective, people

resort on almost every page to the delivering poison of drunkenness. And our youth read books dominated by alcohol, mysticism, eroticism, as if these were commonplace. But the worst about these books is their lack of faith in human reason. J. B. Priestley in his last book [*Literature and Western Man*] even declares that in literature the most important and most desirable thing to a "Western reader" is the victory of subconsciousness and irrationality over consciousness. In the cynical naturalism and the loose, unreal "subconsciousness" of these novels, the indispensable components which we call the subject and the story simply disintegrate and wither away.

Amidst this world of spiritual melancholy, mysticism, despair and overrated sex, the reader comes upon a detective novel which is a sober, factual oasis for the most ordinary, prosaically sane senses, and deals with the most ordinary violations of the real penal code of a concrete country in a concrete place and time. We can say without exaggeration that, except for a limited number of books of revolutionary and proletarian character written by progressive authors on the theme of social struggle, in present-day Western Europe and America the detective novel is the most rational and sober stuff written for broad masses of readers. Even more: a detective novel is dedicated by its very nature to the victory of rational endeavor (human intelligence, alertness, attentiveness, experience) over everything that at first appears to be traditional, secret and mystical. The task of every detective novel is, slowly and gradually, bit by bit, to elucidate rationally those facts and phenomena which in the beginning transcend the scope of normal common sense. This lively rationalism is another reason for the attractiveness of detective novels.

Mental illness and madness are now more and more frequently the subjects of Western art. But the sickness, the mysticism, the eroticism are basically abstract. They exceed the limits of the real world, they take place "nowhere," lead "nowhere," replace the mark of time with eternity or timelessness. From this confusion of unbounded and inexplicable possibilities, the reader gladly returns to the four walls of an ordinary house somewhere on Finchley Road in London, where a neighbor has found the corpse of an unknown girl in a room locked from inside. With his book the reader all of a sudden enters a world of completely real psychological processes, practically motivated, with real causality following from the real characteristics of the criminal and his victim. The reader is confronted not with a mystical but a mathematical "X"; the problem will be solved by means of clear rational operations and will conclude with the name and address of the "X." Which is all very heartening since this way a firm faith in the analytical function of human reason is cultivated in every reader.

The third reason for the popularity of the detective novel is its realism: if the author wants to win and keep the reader's interest he must necessarily write a realistic novel. As soon as a fictitious situation (impossible in real life) appears in a novel, as soon as the author shows himself unable to portray a court, a trial, an interrogation, a prison and its order, the legal system of a given country and given period, as soon as he shows signs of helplessness his novel

"SHAGINYAN WAS RIGHT"

"A few weeks ago, the Soviet writer Marietta Shaginyan wrote an article for *Literarni Noviny* on the detective novel, favoring it. Her conclusions as to the popularity of this genre are confirmed on the first page of Dorothy L. Sayers' book *Murder Must Advertise*, where we read that the first printing ran to the fantastic figure of 160,000 copies—for a detective novel! We shall not hypocritically bemoan the large quantity of paper used in printing this thrilling story, because it is brilliantly written in the best tradition of the genre, i.e., Poe's, and is furthermore a trenchant picture of the society in which the story takes place. . . . Shaginyan was right: there must be an end to this uneasiness about a good detective novel, it has a right to its existence, and there is no use deprecating it merely because its appeal has been perverted by so many publishers and their hirelings (and in the West still is). Sayers—and she is not alone—has raised the detective novel into the sphere of real literature. And if such a book is demanded by 160,000 readers there is nothing to fear: perhaps they do not even know it, but they demonstrate in this not only that they want an epic, thrilling book but also that they have a passion for justice. . . ."

Literarni Noviny (Prague), November 26, 1960

loses its appeal to the reader. Engels said that the reading of Balzac's novels brought him and Marx greater understanding of the bourgeois environment than a study of economics. Well-written, clever courtroom novels (mainly English) are like sugar-coated pills to the reader, and together with a thrilling plot they can make him swallow even a detailed presentation of the foundations of capitalistic society, its laws, judiciary, general and local peculiarities. Furthermore, each infraction of the law, each so-called crime, always takes place in real-life conditions. The reader learns to know offices, banks, farms, estates, horse racing, hop harvesting, various strata of the population, and various professions.

A crime must be committed by man, and it is man again who investigates. Thus the structure of a detective novel rests on character, on psychology. A writer who is unable to draw convincingly realistic, meaningful human types, can never write a good detective novel. Thus another reason for the popularity of detective stories is their psychological approach—not a pathological, Joycean, atomistic one, but an approach which is socially substantiated and is exact in its analysis of a living environment. The reader lives with the real people of his book, trusts them, gets suspicious and unmasks them together with the author. But to create human characters in a small book with practically no description—since the emphasis is on action and dialogue—requires the use of living language, speech that is colloquial and contemporary. The greatest authors of detective novels—the American writer Gardner, or the English Christie, or the creator of the poetic Charlie Chan, the great stylist Biggers—are at the same time masters of concrete colloquial

language. In the dialogues of Agatha Christie, in those little masterpieces in which you can also study good English, you will get a plastic portrait of all middle England with its small country towns and aristocratic castles, with farms, old spinsters, butchers, physicians and retired colonels. In the brilliant legal "cases" of attorney Mason, who is a character in Gardner's books, you can get acquainted with the whole fraudulent machinery of American law enforcement, and also with the contemporary city language and its differences from the English. And, of course, here I can almost hear the voice of one of our important academicians: "You have forgotten the main thing: the satisfaction over the solution of the mystery! A detective novel—like a game of chess—intrigues your mind because it distracts you from the usual drudgery. And it always cheers you with a happy end!"

Yes—happy end—the victory of human reason over a maze of circumstances. There is wonderful testimony to this in Darwin's autobiography. In his late years he was passionately fond of light reading: "Novels—although of poor value—have brought me tremendous satisfaction in recent years and I have blessed the authors of all of them. An infinite number of novels have been read aloud to me, and I have liked them all as long as they were of at least average quality and particularly if they had a happy ending. As a matter of fact I would pass a law banning novels with a sad end. In my taste, no book belongs to the cate-

gory of first-class novels unless it has at least one character inspiring unconditional love, and if this character is a beautiful woman, all the better. . . ." In a detective novel the happy end, with the arrest of the criminal and the acquittal of the innocent party, is mandatory. A detective novel cannot end in a loss or a draw. One reader has compared it with a lottery where one cannot lose, and he was right because the genre itself guarantees victory—just as a mathematical theorem guarantees a correct solution. It is necessary, of course, to distinguish the real detective story from a patchwork piece on American gangsters hurriedly thrown on the market—which sometimes happens even to the queen of detective writers, Agatha Christie—and evaluate this child of twentieth century literature on the basis of the best classical works, not the worst ones. It is not without significance that the forefathers of the detective story were such excellent writers as the genius Edgar Poe, the profound Willkie Collins, the immortal Dostoevski in his *Crime and Punishment*; even Chernyshevski in his book *"What to Do?"* camouflaged his philosophical novel as a detective story. And J. B. Priestley, an English novelist who scoffs at Voltaire's rationalism, says in his aforementioned recent book that if Voltaire lived today he would certainly write beautiful detective stories. . . . Priestley, of course, wanted to express his distaste for rationalism and detective novels, but in fact his words are a great and true praise of this genre.

"On the Road for Slippers"

THIS WRY PLAINT ON THE CAPRICIOUSNESS OF THE CONSUMER GOODS SUPPLY APPEARED IN THE BULGARIAN PARTY PAPER *Rabotnichesko Delo* (SOFIA), DECEMBER 5, 1960.



What of it, that the salesgirls

sing to us

"Slippers?

not a pair!"

In our breast

heroic will we hide!

We enter

one street

and we stamp foot

from one district

Where are the slippers

we ask, confused?

everywhere:

then another

to another.

Where is

On Stalin Street

we open door after door,

but it seems,

open we see everywhere

this small article

on Zhdanov

because of some heavy curse

mouth after mouth:

asleep?

on Graf Ignatiev

"Slippers?
 have none.
 Regretfully, yes, we have none . . ."
 Again pushed by
 but we crowds, noise,
 by new hope
 walk with wings
 and refreshed
 toward TSUM,*
 Solemn. Beautiful,
 the windows shine.
 The crowd
 —like the Danube—
 flows and flows.
 In what abundance of goods
 all is buried!
 The voices of the girl-clerks
 —forest bells!
 Windows and shelves,
 eagerly we examine.
 Where are the slippers,
 the devil get them?
 Where should we warm
 our hearts so icy?
 The slippers
 —this is it, our aim!
 "Slippers, do you say?"
 —gaze at us the girl-clerks—
 "Sorry,
 only those there are left."
 Deluged in anger,
 but the blue eyes
 melt away in our souls
 anger
 in protest.
 Roaming again
 through noisy Sofia
 We chat
 at every new stand,
 But there are none,
 they are nowhere
 the slippers—
 the gift—a little one
 and promised.
 —Take comforters!
 And sandals we have!—
 The voices of the girls
 vigilantly resound.
 —High boots
 —only for winter!
 Just for slippers
 why such a journey?
 Over again
 outside the biting wind
 licks us,
 and again we are offered
 everything with love.

*Central Universal Store.

It remains only
 a pair of television sets
 to offer us
 instead of slippers . . .
 Eh, today too,
 clear, no slippers again.
 From beating the road
 our legs are a little heavy,
 But what is it
 to walk across
 Sofia!
 At dawn
 again we'll be
 on the road!

EVERY MAN A POLICEMAN

An editor of the Prague evening paper *Vecerni Praha*, published by the trade union organization, devoted a column in the November 1960 issue to those lackadaisical citizens who refuse to inform on others.

"Many a person knows about something that is detrimental to society. But he does not want to burn his fingers. He does not bother about what is happening around him. . . . He is guided simply by the rule, 'This is none of my business.' How frequently we hear this assertion in daily life! . . .

"Perhaps he is ashamed of pointing a finger at a person who harms all of us and our children. He does not want to be an 'informer,' he thinks this is 'immoral.' Is it perhaps more moral to cover up by silence someone who harms society? If you are a witness to an illegal act and don't do anything about it, you act immorally yourself! You aid in a wrong, you are an accessory to damage done to the whole.

"A trial took place in Prague recently of a group of people . . . who had committed numerous offenses against the foreign exchange regulations and other crimes. There were detailed reports about this trial in the papers. One of the main culprits was the former medical superintendent of the Bulovka hospital, Josef Braun. He robbed the republic of tens of thousands of dollars and other currencies. . . . Some people saw the acts of this criminal over a period of years. They knew what he was doing—and remained silent. . . .

"'None of my business'—this is a worn-out, antiquated, oldfashioned and immoral bit of rubbish which has no place in our time.

"This slogan belongs on the garbage heap along with all the other trash we call selfishness and individualism. The sooner their remnants are blown out of our minds, the better for all of us, the better for every individual too."

Facts and Figures

The Population of Eastern Europe

TABLE 1 ESTIMATED POPULATION IN 1958

Country	Area in square km	Population in thousands	Population per square km
ALBANIA	28,748	1,507	52
BULGARIA	110,928	7,728	69
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ..	127,859	13,523	106
EAST GERMANY	107,834	17,355	161
HUNGARY	93,030	9,857	106
POLAND	311,730	28,059	92
ROMANIA	237,502	18,059	76
ALL COUNTRIES	1,017,631	96,812	95

DEMOGRAPHY—the counting of heads—has not been a flourishing science in the Soviet Union, which in 1959 conducted its first census in 20 years. In the satellite countries, on the other hand, population research is one of the safer pursuits for social scientists. Last October the Czechoslovak journal *Demografie* published a long and very detailed article on population trends in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

In 1958 the number of people living in satellite Europe was estimated at more than 96 million, or about 24 percent of the population of all Europe excluding the USSR. Although Eastern Europe is still largely rural, it is more densely inhabited than Western Europe—averaging 95 persons per square kilometer as compared with 84 for the

whole continent.

The age structure of the population has undergone marked changes since 1939. This is partly the result of the war, which, aside from its immediate effect on the higher age groups, temporarily lowered birth rates and raised infant and child mortality. (Table 2.) In addition, the average age of the population is increasing, a process which is also occurring in other parts of the world. Advances in medical science have raised the average length of life—i.e., an increasing proportion of live-born children survive to a higher age. The average age is also rising because of a decline in the birth rate, which produces a numerical drop in the youngest age group (per thousand of population) and an increase in the highest age group (per

TABLE 2 AGE STRUCTURE (PAST AND PROJECTED)
(per thousand inhabitants)

Country	Age Group	1939	1946	1950	1960	1970
BULGARIA	14 and under	355	279	264*	261	232
	15—59	567	628	634*	629	628
	60 and over	78	93	102*	110	140
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	14 and under	273	243	259	283	273
	15—59	618	642	622	581	574
	60 and over	109	115	119	136	153
EAST GERMANY	14 and under	—	149	228	214	234
	15—59	—	601	610	586	543
	60 and over	—	150	162	200	223
HUNGARY	14 and under	273	248	249	266	265
	15—59	624	632	632	594	573
	60 and over	103	120	119	140	162
POLAND	14 and under	315	284	292	224	317
	15—59	598	634	622	573	570
	60 and over	77	82	86	93	113
ROMANIA	14 and under	349	288	—	—	—
	15—59	585	631	—	—	—
	60 and over	66	81	—	—	—

*Estimated as of July 1955.

TABLE 3 ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION IN 1957

Country	Percentage of total population	Percentage of men	Percentage of women	Percentage employed in:	
				Industry	Agriculture and forestry
BULGARIA	55.4	—	—	—	—
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ^{ab}	45.2	53.6	37.3	34.3	31.6
EAST GERMANY ^a	47.3	59.3	37.6	35.0	19.7
HUNGARY	45.3	64.1	27.9	25.0 ^c	44.2 ^c
POLAND ^d	—	—	—	18.8	57.2
ROMANIA ^c	59.7	67.2	52.7	13.3	69.1

^aEnd of the year. ^bExcluding family help. ^c1956. ^d1950.

thousand of population). This trend is most pronounced in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, countries in which average longevity is high and in which the birth rate has been relatively low during past years. It is less marked in Bulgaria and Poland, where life expectancy is not as high and where the birth rate has not fallen as far. In Poland the birth rate rose after the war to a very high level and has been dropping only in recent years. (The article notes that in East Germany the concentration of old people is very high relative to the rest of the population, but does not mention one important reason for it: the heavy migration of younger age groups to the West.)

The progress made by the Communists in industrializing Eastern Europe has affected the population as shown in

Tables 3 and 4. The number of women employed in industry in Czechoslovakia and East Germany has reached Western proportions, and it has risen also in the other countries as a result of a drive to get women out of the kitchen and into "productive" work. A migration from rural areas into cities and towns has proceeded even more rapidly than the authorities desired, partly because the collectivization of agriculture has discouraged peasants from remaining on the land. The article states that "urbanization has been most marked in countries where industrialization is of recent date, like Romania and Bulgaria, or where large-scale population transfers were carried out as a result of the war (Poland). In Romania the urban population grew between 1930 and 1956 by almost 80 percent

TABLE 4 URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION

Country	1920	1930	1940	1946	1950	1956
Percentage living in towns						
BULGARIA	20.0	21.0	22.9	24.7	26.7	33.5
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	43.1 ^a	47.4	—	49.2 ^b	51.2	53.7
EAST GERMANY	—	—	72.2 ^f	67.7	70.9	71.6
HUNGARY	35.3	36.2	38.3 ^c	—	36.5 ^d	40.3 ^e
POLAND	—	27.4 ^g	—	31.8	39.0	44.9
ROMANIA	—	21.4	23.6 ^c	—	23.4 ^h	31.3
Percentage living in villages						
BULGARIA	80.0	79.0	77.1	75.3	73.3	66.5
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	56.9	52.6	—	51.0 ^b	48.8	46.3
EAST GERMANY	—	—	27.8 ^f	32.3	29.1	28.4
HUNGARY	64.7	63.8	61.7 ^c	—	63.5 ^d	59.7 ^e
POLAND	—	72.6 ^g	—	68.2	61.0	55.1
ROMANIA	—	78.6	76.4 ^c	—	76.6 ^h	68.7

^a1921. ^bCzech lands 1947, Slovakia 1946. ^c1941. ^d1949. ^e1957. ^f1939.

^g1931. ^h1948.

(47.5 percent between 1948 and 1956). In Czechoslovakia the urban population is concentrated to a large degree in big cities: in 1956, 47 percent of the urban population lived in 13 towns with a population of over 90,000. In Bulgaria towns of 5-10,000 predominate (comprising 32 percent of the urban communities with 13.7 percent of the urban population), but two big cities with over 100,000 inhabitants (Sofia and Plovdiv) have 32.4 percent of the whole urban population. In Poland, towns of 2-10,000 inhabitants predominate (60 percent of all communities), and 25 percent of the urban population lives in them. In 1957, almost 40 percent of Poland's urban population lived in 20 big cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants. The migration of population from villages to towns causes the average age of the rural population to rise. In towns, and especially in the new industrial centers, the average age of the population is lower because it is mostly young people who move to these centers and who start families in their new homes."

The decline of the birth rate and the death rate since 1920 are shown in detail in Table 5. "This decline," says the article, "showing a long development, has had in different countries a different intensity and varying course. The smallest decline is to be observed in Romania and Poland; the birth rate sank to the lowest level in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary. Compared with the level of the inter-war period, the relative change has been greatest in the two countries which had a high birth rate

before the war, i.e., Bulgaria and Romania. In all six countries the death rate also fell considerably in the 38-year period, again most markedly in those where it had formerly been high (Bulgaria and Romania). Except for Poland, which today has a much higher rate of population increase than before the war, the natural increase of the population either fell or remained at most more or less stable. The decline in the death rate failed to offset the decline in the birth rate."

The article notes that the legalization of abortion in 1956 and afterward "has apparently contributed to the decline in the birth rate. In Hungary in 1957, for every 100 births there were 72.8 abortions. In Czechoslovakia, when the effects of the 1958 abortion law made themselves felt in 1959, the number of abortions per 100 births rose from 37.5 to 48.2." [In Hungary the number of legal abortions jumped from 78,500 in 1955 to 123,591 in 1956. According to official statistics it continued to rise in following years, and in 1959 it reached 187,681. At the same time the live birth rate fell from 23 per 1,000 in 1954 to 15.2 in 1959. Total live births in 1959 were 151,183—i.e., less than the number of legal abortions.—Ed.]

The article contains a long analysis of statistics of fertility, mortality, life expectancy, marriages and divorces. The author concludes that the day of the large family in Eastern Europe is over, and that when the various trends eventually reach a balance the average family will have only 2 to 2.5 children.

TABLE 5 BIRTH RATES, DEATH RATES AND NATURAL INCREASE

Country		1920-24	1925-29	1930-34	1935-39	1945-49	1950-54	1955	1956	1957	1958
BULGARIA ¹	b.	39.6	34.2	30.3	24.2	24.6	21.6	20.0	19.5	18.4	17.9
	d.	21.3	18.5	15.8	13.9	13.2	10.1	9.0	9.4	8.6	7.9
	i.	18.3	15.7	14.5	10.3	11.4	11.5	11.0	10.1	9.8	10.0
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	b.	26.8	22.9	19.7	17.1	22.4	22.0	20.3	19.8	18.9	17.4
	d.	16.5	15.2	13.7	13.2	13.6	10.9	9.6	9.6	10.1	9.3
	i.	10.3	7.7	6.0	3.9	8.8	11.1	10.7	10.2	8.8	8.1
EAST GERMANY	b.	—	—	—	18.3 ^(a)	12.7 ^(c)	16.6	16.3	15.9	15.6	15.6
	d.	—	—	—	12.3	17.6	11.8	11.9	12.0	12.9	12.7
	i.	—	—	—	6.0	4.9	4.8	4.4	3.9	2.7	2.9
HUNGARY ²	b.	30.2	26.6	23.2	20.1	20.2 ^(c)	21.1	21.5	19.6	17.0	16.1
	d.	20.9	17.1	15.8	14.3	12.7	11.4	10.0	10.6	10.6	9.9
	i.	9.3	9.3	7.4	5.8	7.5	9.7	11.5	9.0	6.4	6.2
POLAND ³	b.	34.3	32.9	28.9	25.4 ^(b)	29.5 ^(d)	29.8	29.1	28.1	27.6	26.3
	d.	20.6	17.0	15.0	14.0	11.4	11.0	9.6	9.0	9.5	8.4
	i.	13.7	15.9	13.9	11.4	18.1	18.8	19.5	19.1	18.1	17.9
ROMANIA ⁴	b.	37.6	35.4	33.7	30.2	24.9 ^(c)	24.9	25.6	24.2	22.9	20.3
	d.	24.0	21.6	20.3	19.6	17.5	12.0	9.7	9.9	10.2	8.1
	i.	13.6	13.8	13.4	10.6	7.4	12.9	15.9	14.3	12.7	12.2

¹1920-1930 without southern Dobruja. ²Until 1949 includes territory ceded to Czechoslovakia in 1947. ³Until 1950 registration of births and deaths not complete; territory until 1939 with prewar boundaries. ⁴Until 1939 includes southern Dobruja, Bessarabia and northern Bukovina.

^a1938-1939. ^b1935-1938. ^c1946-1949. ^d1949.

Eastern Europe at the UN

This department is devoted to a running chronology of the more significant activities and statements of the Soviet bloc representatives at the United Nations.

December 7 The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee unanimously approved an eight-power resolution stressing that the dissemination of scientific knowledge should be applied for peaceful ends. The main purpose of the resolution is to assure the underdeveloped countries that scientific progress in the advanced nations will be accompanied by due attention to the peaceful needs of the have-not areas of the world. An amendment by Czechoslovakia was accepted which expressed the specific hope that there will be international cooperation in the field of the natural sciences. The Committee rejected by a majority a Soviet proposal to establish a world center for the exchange of scientific information.

December 8 The Hungarian delegation distributed a pamphlet containing the writings of Western journalists who had visited Hungary in the past 18 months. It was intended to show that correspondents of *The New York Times*, *The Times* of London, *The New Statesman* and other Western periodicals had given a picture of Hungary which refuted "those slanders which are still being spread by the enemies of the Hungarian nation."

December 9 Bulgaria's Premier Anton Yugov sent a telegram to Secretary General Hammarskjold criticizing the UN actions in the Congo as "completely in the service of the imperialist interests" and constituting "a threat to peace in this part of Africa and all over the world. . . . The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully endorses the proposals of the Government of the Soviet Union given in its declaration on the situation in the Congo and appeals for their immediate realization."

December 12 The Albanian government sent a note of protest to Frederick Boland, President of the UN General Assembly, and Valerian Zorin, Chairman of the Security Council, stating that it considered "the unjustifiable expulsion from Leopoldville of the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Ghana, and the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic by the mercenary Mobutu, as provocative acts aimed at isolating the Congolese people and exposing them to attacks by their sworn imperialist enemies. American imperialism wants to seize the wealth of the Congo, replace the Belgian colonialists, and turn the Congo into a base of aggression against the other independent African countries, against world peace." It went on to say that the UN command in the Congo had "sided with the imperialist aggressors against the legal Congolese Government and parliament and against the Congolese people themselves."

Mr. Hammarskjold has been reduced to a faithful servant of American imperialist aggression against the Congolese Republic, which is a sovereign State and a member of the United Nations." The note concluded by saying that the Albanian government completely supported the measures proposed by the Soviet Union.

December 13 A Czechoslovak draft resolution appealing for "maximum support to efforts of newly emerging States to strengthen their independence" was deferred for lack of speakers until the Assembly resumes its session in the spring of 1961. The move for indefinite adjournment of the debate in the Special Political Committee was initiated by India, later joined by Ceylon, Cyprus and Ethiopia. Finally, without objection from delegate Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia, the 99-nation Committee adopted without vote a formal proposal by Sweden to postpone the debate. As outlined by Nosek, the draft resolution would limit the West in establishing political, economic, military and other ties with the newly emerging independent countries of Africa and elsewhere.

December 14 The General Assembly concluded a three-week debate on colonialism by defeating the Soviet resolution introduced by Premier Khrushchev himself late in September. It then accepted the alternative Afro-Asian draft. The militant Soviet resolution, which called for immediate independence for all colonial countries and peoples, received the support of the Communist bloc and some neutral nations. The Afro-Asian draft was adopted by a vote of 89 to 0 with nine abstentions. The United States, which abstained, welcomed the "underlying purpose" of the Afro-Asian resolution but objected to the resolution's "difficulties in language and thought."

In a speech before the Security Council, Poland's ambassador Lewandowski attacked UN policies in the Congo and demanded the immediate release of Lumumba.

Six Communist-bloc representatives accused the United States and NATO of conducting "collective colonialism" in Algeria on behalf of France. Speakers from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Byelorussia and the Ukraine charged in the Political Committee that President de Gaulle's offer to decide Algeria's future by a referendum was a fraud, and demanded UN intervention. They maintained that France would not have been able to continue the war in Algeria without the support of NATO.

December 16 Janos Peter, leader of the Hungarian delegation, sharply attacked Secretary General Hammarskjold in the General Assembly for his conduct of the UN

(Continued on page 31)

ESCAPE BY SEA (continued from page 11)

fears. They were afraid not only that Kramicz and Piasecki would be arrested but that they would be taken away without a chance to come and let them out of the tank.

All of a sudden the engine started again. Kramicz asked the captain if they could not sail out to sea after all.

"Are you crazy?" the captain exclaimed. "We wouldn't get half a mile before the port-captain stopped us. What are you in such a hurry for?"

There was nothing to do but return to the old mooring place of the WLA 19.

The fact that the "Krystyna" was moving again was greeted with relief by the stowaways. Something was happening. They were closer to freedom. But the children refused to reason. They were hot, they started to be afraid of the dark, the lemon juice supply ran out, everybody was thirsty, the adults developed headaches, the children vomited all over themselves and the others and lost control of their bladders.

The cutter reached the place it had started from only a few hours earlier. The engine stopped. Kramicz and Piasecki were at their wits' end. They did not even know whether all those they loved were still alive in the tank. Theoretically nobody could have suffocated because even though it was rather tightly closed there was an inflow of air from outside. Nevertheless, both men were so nervous that only the worst thoughts nagged their minds.

In the engine room a heavy odor of human sweat came from the fuel tank. In the tank the people were beginning to lose control of their nerves. When the children had started to scream they had at first covered their mouths and threatened with all possible infernal powers if they made any noise. Now they themselves could not stand the endless waiting. What was going on? Why didn't Kramicz and Piasecki let them out? Children and adults alike tore their clothes off.

Kramicz and Piasecki now had only one thought, to release the others from the tank. And to hide the fact from the strangers. Piasecki slapped the captain good naturedly on the shoulder (it was fortunate that in the darkness the expression on his face was not visible) and said, "Well, the voyage did not work. We will try tomorrow or the day after. Come along and have a drink, I have a reserve bottle here." The captain obviously could not care less, he could see no tragedy and he did not have to be invited twice for a drink. They sat down in the crewmen's cabin and began to eat. Kramicz quickly made a sign to Piasecki and while the latter was entertaining the captain and the mechanic, he went below and opened the tank.

A terrible stench and silence struck him. Cold sweat broke out all over him. "Come out quickly," he whispered into the dark hole. Something began to move inside.

Crowded as they were, they could not give priority to the weaker ones but had to come out in the reverse order from which they had gone in. Walentynowicz and Jagielski were the first to crawl out. After them came the women and the children, very slowly and with great difficulty. They were stiff all over and their minds were just blank.

God, what a sight they were! Dust, oil and sweat had turned their faces into tragic masks. The remains of their

clothes did not seem like clothing at all. Jagielski took off his sweater, which he had worn on his bare torso, and wrung it out. The sweat dripped on the floor like water.

Kramicz leaned over and whispered, "Come out and go to our place one by one. I'll be there soon." They emerged into the fresh air and gulped it greedily until it intoxicated them.

Kramicz returned to the cabin where the captain and the mechanic were working on the bottle with Piasecki. "How is my wife?" Piasecki whispered.

"Everything is all right," came back the whisper. Unobserved he took a few tomatoes and brought them to the stowaways. The thirsty people almost snatched them from his hands.

Marianna Kramicz was still in the tank with two of the youngest children. "Take the children. Take the children," she begged louder and louder, but without effect. She did not know that the rest of them were as good as drunk up on deck. She herself could not think clearly.

Most of the clothing remained in the tank but some of them tore off their clothes up on deck and Kramicz had to run around picking them up and hiding them. One by one he sent them ashore. A few of them had fallen into a heavy sleep when they emerged into the fresh air. Kramicz had to wake them and force them to go on land.

Finally there was only his wife with the youngest children left. First he took the children which she handed him through the 16" x 24" opening. They were in a state between coma and sleep and just fell into his hands. Marianna seemed insane. She asked about the oddest things and talked completely incoherently. The fact that somebody had been sitting on her foot the whole time did not improve the situation. She staggered as she walked home. Her eight-year-old daughter Basia left all her clothes in the tank and came out stark naked; her father had to wrap her up in somebody's sweater. The second youngest child was also naked but Mrs. Kramicz still had enough presence of mind to wrap him in her coat and carry him home.

It must have been around three o'clock in the morning for it was beginning to grow light.

Gradually everybody assembled in the Kramicz home, looking as if they had returned from another world. Tattered, dirty and exhausted. The children could not quite understand why they had to wash so thoroughly when they were so tired but the thought that Granny would be terribly angry if she saw them in such a state had immediate effect. Having washed up, they decided that if the militia should come and ask what all these people were doing there, they would answer that they had had a party and nobody wanted to go home when it broke up so late. Then they settled down, rather uncomfortably because most of the bedclothes were on the cutter, and fell into a heavy sleep.

Jagielski was the first to get up and he hurried out to the cutter. He was the one who knew the engine and the boat best. He inspected the engine, checked all installations and had the lights in perfect order within an hour. He knew his cutter and was able to guess that the trouble lay in the generator.

The Decision

WAKING UP was a horrible experience for all the adults.

They felt very bad physically and their morale was even worse. They began to think about the future. There was no need to hide it, the mood was worse than defeatist. The two mothers were especially worried. Barbara Walentynowicz told how somebody had been lying on her son Janusz all the time. Marianna Kramicz also said that someone had been making himself comfortable on Miccio in the tank. But both boys were little heroes and did not complain much. Then there was the sad fact that Marianna's foot was so bad after "somebody" had sat on it that it had swollen. She could barely walk. Thus they debated through the morning and noon. They knew there were too many of them. Michal Kramicz tried to keep their spirits up insisting that if it had not been for that unfortunate generator the whole thing would have worked according to plan. Now all the installations were in order and they could expect things to go smoothly. Walentynowicz agreed with him and cheered the others even though he had been in that tank too and knew what they were getting themselves into again.

Everybody had regained strength by the afternoon and that is perhaps why they reached the conclusion that they should not delay with a second attempt. Kramicz promised to prepare the cutter for sailing quickly and would let them know the hour of departure as soon as he could. On this they started to disperse because they all needed movement, space and fresh air.

Marianna Kramicz watched her youngest children all day long. She could not forget how they had suffered and worried about how they would stand another such night. She herself felt alright again although her foot still bothered her. The youngest children, Renatka, 3, and Jurek, 2, were very pale and strangely quiet. True, they were obviously not ill but they didn't have their usual air.

Terrible thoughts went through the poor mother's mind. What would happen if things got even worse this time? What if the children suffocated? When she told her husband of her fears, he answered, "Well, that's too bad then. We just won't go."

But it was not as easy as that. Everybody's nerves had reached the limit of their endurance and the rest of the party almost went crazy at the news that the Kramiczes wanted to stay. They had grown accustomed to Kramicz's leadership and could not imagine a successful escape without him. In the morning they had decided to try again and now they were to call the whole thing off? That was almost too much.

Kramicz looked at his wife. "Well, you see . . ." he said to her.

Toward evening he declared that they would leave the next day at 10 in the morning, for he had come to the conclusion that it would be easier to load such a number of people by day. There were many tourists in Kolobrzeg at the time. They were all over the port and the little party could easily mix with the crowd. Jagielski and Piasecki were informed of the decision but by mistake the Walentynowiczes knew nothing about it and thought they

were to report to the cutter at the same time as the night before. This created additional trouble.

In the evening Marianna Kramicz put all the children to bed and stood looking at them. Finally she said to her husband, "Michal, we shall have to leave Jurek and Renatka behind."

Kramicz just looked at her.

"I am afraid they will suffocate," she went on. "I would rather leave them here for now than doom them to such a terrible death."

"Alright, in that case we all stay," he replied. Mrs. Kramicz began to cry. They sat down and he started to think aloud. Walentynowicz had said that many Poles who live permanently abroad manage as a rule to get their children out of Poland to join them for good. Western governments usually have nothing against such family reunions as long as the Polish authorities permit the children to join their parents. They ought to be able to manage it. Furthermore, he went on, it was not a question of them alone, what about the others? If he did not go they would not go either. It would be a great shame to disappoint them. But that was not all, either. The affair would soon be known. They were able to remove the partitions in the tank on their own but they would not be able to put them back in and that would give them away. He would go to prison and would be separated from his children anyway.

It was getting dark, the children's faces were blurring, and their parents were making the hardest decision of their lives.

The Mistake

At the same time as the evening before, the Walentynowicz family started to make its way toward the cutter. The area was covered with bushes near the bank and they decided to hide in them. The tall lamps illuminated the whole area treacherously.

Barbara Walentynowicz did not know the area and was soon surprised to see strange bundles and packages wrapped in dirty paper hidden in the bushes. Before she could ask her husband about them she saw a man quietly rummaging around. Walentynowicz drew his wife and child in the opposite direction. Barbara started to regret her light summer coat, so clearly visible in the dusk. Her husband's presence at this time of night would not be strange but it would be hard to explain a woman and a child being there.

After a while the man took a package under his arm and darted away among the bushes. Despite the unusual situation Barbara could not resist her feminine curiosity and started unwrapping the nearest bundle. It consisted of fresh raw fish. Polish fishermen on State ships earn so little that they have to steal fish. After they land they hide parcels with fish along the canals and come back to get them under cover of night.

Suddenly Walentynowicz saw a private car roar up and stop suddenly. Four men got out and quickly dispersed among the bushes. "We are done for," they thought, assuming it was the militia. They started to pull away. The bushes ended. Under one bush lay a large metal container

full of liquid. The four men searched persistently. They were not interested in the parcels of fish but were evidently after something else. They reached a rather well illuminated spot and the Walentynowicz could see that they were fishermen. "Jarek, they want the container," Barbara said. "Take it and give it to them."

That was the best way to get rid of them. Walentynowicz started to go toward them but when they saw him they turned tail and ran. A tragicomic chase ensued. They ran as if they had wings on their feet and Walentynowicz tried to catch up with them, calling "Wait, don't be afraid. I'm not going to hurt you!" But they did not wait for explanations. They jumped into their car and sped off to town without bothering to turn on their lights.

An hour later the Walentynowicz learned that their whole nocturnal adventure had been useless because the departure was set for 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Sea

To get the two uninitiated crewmen out of the way Kramicz sent them with Piasecki to town to buy some provisions.

The group boarded the boat one by one. With a tear-stained face Marianna Kramicz brought four of her children, having at the last moment taken the two youngest to the astonished Granny to whom she chaotically told everything. Granny didn't know what to think, she only repeated tearfully, "Are you sure you are doing the right thing? Are you quite sure?" Little Renatka obviously knew what was happening because she started to cry, "Mummy, take me with you to the hole, I won't scream any more!"

The journey started again. Nobody said a word in the tank. At the Frontier Defense Forces station the soldiers checked the cutter carefully for half an hour but paid no attention to the well-camouflaged opening to the tank. They looked everywhere and even poked around in the ice. Finally they went ashore and the "Krystyna" headed out to the open sea.

The captain was at the wheel of the little ship but, not being any eager beaver, immediately accepted Kramicz's offer to take his place while he went down to eat.

There was still silence in the tank. It was presumed that nobody could hear human voices out of the tank, at any rate nobody would suspect that they could come from there, nevertheless everybody kept very still just in case. This time the children were not given any sleeping pills. They could judge the course of events from the movements of the boat and were happy to note that, soon after they left, the cutter started to rock on the high sea waves. Neither was it so hot as before. Apparently the sea water and the wind provided pleasant cool air.

After some time Kramicz called Piasecki and asked him to take care of the steering. They were about two hours out.

"Now?" asked Piasecki. Kramicz nodded.

Holding his Very pistol in one hand and tearing away the putty and camouflage around the entrance to the tank with the other, he opened it for good and called joyfully, "Come out, we've made it!"

The first to jump out was Jagielski. He grabbed Kramicz

and kissed him. Then came the others, a little tired and squinting at the daylight.

Kramicz hurried to the crewmen's quarters where the captain and the mechanic were having lunch. Standing in the door he aimed the pistol at the two astonished men and stuttered, "Be good gentlemen and I shall be good to you".

They thought it was a joke. "What on earth are you doing?" asked the captain.

"There are twelve of us, including children."

"Children?"

"Yes, and wives."

The two stopped eating. They could hear voices coming closer and closer and suddenly people started to crowd into the room. At the sight of Jagielski, the mechanic, an old friend of his, said, "Well, if Jagielski is here then there is no doubt about anything!" and returned to his meal.

While the "passengers" dispersed over the cutter, Kramicz, Jagielski and Piasecki asked that the cutter be directed toward Bornholm, about 150 miles from the Polish coast. The old seadog was mad and only threats forced him to make a chart.

They expected to reach Danish territorial waters within a few hours. They had no food or drink for such an "unexpected" number of passengers on board. Actually, there was no room for the people either. The sea was rather rough and it was impossible to sit on deck all the time. Most of them gladly returned to the tank because it was at least warm and dry in there. In other parts of the boat the water was seeping in through cracks.

Sea travel on an empty stomach causes seasickness sooner or later, as everybody knows, and most of the passengers got sick after a couple of hours. The sea grew rougher and water started to come into the tank through the filling pipe. It could not be stopped up because there would be no ventilation. Hour after hour they comforted each other that they would soon get to Bornholm.

Drinking water ran out shortly. On the way they passed various other cutters and ships. Night came and they began to realize that they had lost their way. Angriily they asked the old captain whether he had not led them on a wild goose chase on purpose. His reply was that it was not his fault if the compass was off. It was also discovered that the capabilities of the WLA 19 were far less than any of them had suspected. The engine kept stopping and water leaked through to the lower decks so badly that two men had to work the pump continuously.

When they passed other ships during the day the "passengers" had to hide in case units of the Polish Frontier Defense Forces or Soviet ships should see them and arrest them. Toward evening a strangely illuminated ship gave them a big scare. In the night it was gone but the morale of the passengers was much worse. There was no question of sleeping. The prolonged voyage raised doubts in their minds whether they were going in the right direction at all.

Thus when port lights suddenly appeared ahead of them the passengers did not greet them with joy but with panic, for somebody exclaimed that they had returned to Poland! The experienced sailors had a hard time convincing them that such a thing was highly improbable, and even then

they could not calm all fears. Meanwhile the lights grew closer with each moment and rows of lamps were soon visible along the docks.

They were not sure where they were; they presumed it was Ronne on the Danish island of Bornholm or Ystad in Sweden. After about 17 hours the sailors of the miserable WLA 19 "Krystyna" put in at the Swedish port of Trelleborg.

Seeing the composition of the crew and passengers, the Swedish port authorities had no doubts as to the purpose of their journey. Kramicz instructed everybody to stay on board while he himself went ashore with an official. Should there be any difficulties he would let himself be interned in the country in order to enable the others to go on to Denmark. He was led to an office where he was shortly joined by a Polish interpreter.

Kramicz declared that they were political refugees and that their destination was Denmark. The Swedes asked him whether he did not intend to ask for asylum in Sweden. No, the whole group intended to request asylum in Denmark.

Kramicz asked for enough drinking water and food to see them through to Danish territorial waters. Hot coffee and sandwiches were brought in for him. Swedish authorities considered his requests quite modest and immediately supplied the cutter with food and water.

But not everybody intended to go on to Denmark. The

old captain insisted on being permitted to land and return to Poland as soon as possible. The mechanic wanted to go back too. With tact the Swedes enabled the two sailors to call the Polish consular authorities in Sweden about the matter.

Marianna Kramicz went to see the captain as he sat shaving before going ashore. She wanted to thank him for their trip. He was still furious and, pretending he did not hear her, finished shaving, wiped his face and then suddenly spun around and said, "May you all drop dead with the plague for what you have done!" Marianna paled, turned around and went on deck with an unsure step.

The Swedes asked over and over again whether the 12 Poles really wanted to continue their journey. They could not quite see how anybody would want to sail on a cutter which was barely keeping afloat. The Poles stuck to their plan. Under such circumstances, there was nothing for the Swedes to do but let the little ship leave the port. They did not want to see them fall into further danger however, therefore they gave them the escort of an inspection ship which sailed ahead of them, showing the way.

Shortly before the territorial waters of Denmark began, near Copenhagen, the Swedes flashed a signal that they would go no further. Their task was completed. They saluted the Polish boat and turned back east.

Copenhagen glittered with a thousand lights before the eyes of the twelve Poles. The day was beginning.

EASTERN EUROPE AT THE UN (continued from page 27)

action in the Congo. He called for "the freeing of the legally elected Premier Lumumba and his aides and the restoration of law and order, including the normal functioning of government and parliament, the disarming of Mobutu's bands . . . and the defense of the Congo against the present clandestine return of the Belgians."

January 1 Poland protested to the UN against the recent French atomic explosion in the Sahara, and announced that public opinion in Poland had received the news "with indignation." Describing the experimental tests as "most disquieting," the Polish government charged France with "disregarding the universally expressed will to save the world from the threat of atomic destruction." It added that the French decision to go ahead with the explosion at a time when other powers have voluntarily refrained from carrying out such tests showed that the government of President Charles de Gaulle "disregards" the resolutions adopted by the past two UN General Assemblies. "In view of these developments it seems even more timely and urgent to implement the proposals submitted by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic at the 15th session of the UN General Assembly, concerning refraining from the creation of a fait accompli in the field of armaments." The statement also called for early conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests for all time, steps toward general and complete disarmament, and more publicity on the dangers of nuclear war.

January 12 Polish and Indian experts clashed over the right to travel. Wojciech Ketrzynski of Poland told the

14-man UN Sub-Commission debating this problem that the right to travel is not a "basic human right" but a matter "within the sovereign rights of independent States." This right was not among "the most important human rights," the Pole said. There were cases "where the welfare of society comes before the right of the individual to travel." Arcot Krishnaswami of India disagreed. He stated that it was no longer possible "to deny that the right to travel has become a basic human right and is no longer a privilege granted by the executive branch of the State." The Sub-Commission of the Human Rights Commission is a body of 14 experts delegated by their governments but not representing their official views. Of the Soviet-bloc countries, the USSR and Poland are represented. The Sub-Commission concluded that the right to travel was basic, and requested the UN member governments to assist it in working out an international covenant on the subject.

January 13 Poland was granted aid from the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) for a tuberculosis pilot project. An allocation of \$118,000 will provide five mobile X-ray units, laboratory equipment, film, film supplies and 13 vehicles. With the exception of Yugoslavia, Poland is the only Communist country out of 62 scheduled to receive UNICEF aid in 1961. The TB pilot project will embrace three sectors in the southern provinces of Katowice, Rzeszow and Cracow, where a quarter of a million persons will be examined. Poland has been receiving UNICEF help since 1947, when the organization sent emergency relief aid. Between 1947 and 1950, Poland received over \$15 million in clothing and food. Since then, UNICEF help has consisted mainly of health services.

Current Developments

INTERNATIONAL: *East Germany's Walter Ulbricht criticizes Albanian leaders for "dogmatism" (p. 32).*

Cuba signs trade agreements with Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria (pp. 44, 48, 49).

POLITICAL: *Czechoslovakia to establish "People's Courts" (p. 39).*

Hungary's Communist Youth organization holds its first Congress (p. 41).

ECONOMIC: *Bulgarian Communists claim fulfillment of their Five Year Plan in three years, approve plan and budget for 1961 (p. 46).*

Hungary issues economic plan for 1961 (p. 40).

Romanian National Assembly approves budget for 1961 (p. 45).

AREAWIDE

Ulbricht Accuses Albanians of "Dogmatism"

In the reports submitted to their Central Committees, the East European Party leaders lauded the principles enunciated in the 1960 Moscow Declaration, hammered out in the Soviet capital last December at a meeting of delegates from 81 Communist Parties. (See *East Europe*, January 1961, pp. 36-37.) Although it was generally known that the Albanian representatives supported the "leftist dogmatic" Chinese point of view, concepts involving the inevitability of war with the "imperialists" which endangered the Soviet thesis of peaceful coexistence, their contention was not made public until Walter Ulbricht, East German Party chief, spoke of the "danger of dogmatism" before the East German Party Central Committee, December 17. Referring to the Moscow discussions, Ulbricht stated:

"A number of dogmatic views existed and still exist in the international workers' movement which tend to frustrate the people's movement for peace, for peaceful coexistence, and for general disarmament. Some comrades did not understand that winning broad circles—including bourgeois circles—for the proposals of the world peace movement could be combined with demands opposing capitalist exploitation. At the meeting of the Communist and workers' Parties the Albanian representative, above all, developed a dogmatic and sectarian concept. What is this danger of dogmatism? It is the fact that the dogmatists still cling to obsolete ideas; that they do not recognize the new situa-

tion and experiences in time, and that they do not understand how to utilize all possibilities for the struggle and victory of the working class and of all democratic forces against imperialism, reaction, and the danger of war. We can say that the dogmatists ignore creative work and content themselves with using old quotations, whenever possible, and repeating them time and again." (*Neues Deutschland* [East Berlin], December 18, 1960.)

Albanians Attack Yugoslavs

After Party chief Enver Hoxha had discussed the results of the Moscow Conference, the Albanian Central Committee issued a resolution, December 20, endorsing the Moscow Declaration. The statement contained no mention of "dogmatism," but an especially bitter attack on "revisionism":

"The meeting of the 81 Parties also condemned the Yugoslav form of world opportunism which has become the 'concentrated expression of theories' of the present revisionists. The statement shows the true picture of the Yugoslav revisionists as traitors to Marxism-Leninism who are carrying out undermining activities against the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement. In this connection, the plenum of the Party Central Committee considers as very important the conclusion of the statement for the need further to unmask the leaders of Yugoslav revisionism, considering this an indispensable task for the future of any Marxist-Leninist Party." (*Radio Tirana*, December 21, 1960.)

Most typical of the posture struck by the Soviet bloc rulers on this question of "dogmatism" and "revisionism" was the statement by Romanian Party First Secretary Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who said at a meeting of the



Warsaw's *Kurier Polski*, November 29, frontpaged this photo of the ringleader of a group of leather tannery thieves in Radom. He was sentenced to death.

Central Committee, December 20: "The interests of the further development of the Communist and workers' movement demand that the fight be continued against revisionism, which remains the principal danger in the international workers' movement, against dogmatism and sectarianism, which in one stage or another of some Parties can also become the main dangers if they are not consistently resisted." (Radio Bucharest, December 22, 1960.) (For Peiping's reaction to the Moscow Declaration, see Texts and Documents.)

Kennedy's Cabinet Criticized

The Soviet bloc press followed Moscow's lead in easing its attacks on American President Kennedy, hoping that the new administration would become "politically realistic." On the other hand, Kennedy's cabinet choices were often condemned. The Hungarian radio described the new Secretary of State Dean Rusk as "the confidential man of the Rockefeller Trust . . . thus assuring the veto of 500 Republican families in the State Department." Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, and former head of the Ford Motor Company, fared no better: "Since the Rockefellers have the State Department, the Fords did not want to be left behind. They will now grab control of the huge armaments industry, amounting to 50 billion dollars." Douglas Dillon as Secretary of the Treasury was viewed as

a "lackey of the Wall Street banking interests." (Radio Budapest, December 29, 1960.)

The Party organ *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 18, 1960, called the composition of the cabinet "the result of a compromise between different monopoly groups and the different groupings of the bourgeoisie on the US political scene." Radio Sofia, December 15, 1960, branded Dean Rusk "an old friend of the notorious Chiang Kai-shek," and questioned whether or not he would be able to "correct and renovate the bankrupt foreign policy of the United States . . . the basis of which is: a hard policy toward People's China, intensification of the cold war, and a further arms race."

COMECON Investment Activities

Indications that investment capital is moving more freely among the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—economic integrating body of the European Soviet bloc—have appeared recently.

Czechoslovakia has extended credits valued at 112.5 million "new rubles" (roughly \$125 million) to Poland primarily for developing the latter's copper industry. The magnitude of this credit suggests that the sharp criticisms levied during the past year by Poland's Party leader Gomułka, the most outspoken advocate of increased intra-bloc investments, have produced results. Cooperation in this field was originally agreed to last September when Czechoslovak President Novotny visited Poland (see *East Europe*, November 1960, p. 37). The final decision on the credits, however, was delayed until the sixth session of the Polish-Czechoslovak Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation which ended in Prague on January 9.

The new credits will be extended over the next ten-year period in the form of machines and installations chiefly for the copper industry. But in addition, Czechoslovakia is to supply equipment for the Polish metallurgical and chemical industries, including a fertilizer factory. According to the terms of the accord, Poland will pay off the credits with deliveries of the products of the copper industry during the period 1969-1978. It was also agreed that Poland would continue shipping copper products to Czechoslovakia "for at least five years" after 1978 in exchange for laminated goods.

At the same time, a special commission charged with the tasks of examining further cooperation in the machine-building industry as well as the relative needs for expanding the chemical industry in the two countries was established. (Radio Warsaw, January 9.)

Credits For Bulgaria

The Soviet Union granted Bulgaria a new long-term loan valued at 650 million rubles in an agreement signed in Moscow on December 31. These new credits are to finance deliveries of equipment for the Kremikovskiy iron and steel works and the Maritsa-East thermoelectric power station. In addition, the repayment date for 160 million rubles worth of old credits which were due in 1961 was extended until 1966. (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], January 1.)

Meanwhile in Bulgaria, ceremonial openings of two new

plants constructed with Czechoslovak and East German credits and technical assistance were held during the latter part of December. The Metodi Shaterov electric battery factory, built with Czechoslovak help, was opened on December 26. According to the Party daily *Rabotnichesko Delo* of that date, roughly 90 percent of the plant's total production will be exported to the other Communist countries. Three days later, the official Party organ announced the opening of the Wilhelm Pieck cement plant, named for the late President of East Germany as a tribute to help in the form of equipment and technical assistance received from that country.

Yule Celebrations

Communist regimes permitted a good display of Christmas cheer, although the religious character of the holiday was muted whenever possible. In Budapest, for example, a Christmas tree sixteen yards high was erected at Parliament Hall, but on top of the tree the Star of Bethlehem was replaced by a gigantic five-point Red Star. The Party organ *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), December 25, 1960, outlined the official interpretation of the holiday:

"The revolutionary working class gives to Christmas—as to everything else—a true historical interpretation without blasphemously violating sentiments that are connected with Christmas. We duly respect artistic creations that proclaim love and compassion with humanity. We also cherish those old Christmas songs recalling childhood days. In fact, at our fir tree festivities, we even light Christmas tree candles."

In Prague, shop windows were lavishly decorated for the season, but conspicuously empty of any religious symbols; and in Warsaw there were no religious broadcasts, although many programs featured traditional carols. Instead, New Year's was celebrated with much panoply, including once again the traditional New Year's satire over Polish television. This year's target was Polish Party chief Gomulka and his predilection for simple, almost puritanical, living. Only in Romania were religious leaders allowed to use public facilities. Radio Bucharest, December 22, 1960, broadcast the pastoral letter of Romania's Patriarch containing this warning: "The time has come for every person to be the master of his own fate, to be free and independent, and enjoy national sovereignty and human dignity. Even if peoples are still divided into various groups according to different social and political systems, in the face of the danger of an atomic war, their leaders must choose the only salutary alternative, that of good understanding and peaceful coexistence."

Tito Reports

In a report to the Yugoslav parliament, December 26, President Tito summarized recent developments between his country and the other Communist powers. He began his review by stressing the increasing political, economic and cultural ties established "with the Socialist countries, except for China and Albania." A common position was assumed at the United Nations last fall "on the most important international problems of today, such as the prob-



Customs officer to St. Nicholas: "Everybody who comes through here claims to be a saint. Go ahead, open that bag."

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), December 24, 1960

lem of complete liquidation of colonialism, complete disarmament and so forth." Bilateral relations with the Soviet bloc were also favorable; one-year economic agreements were concluded with most of these countries, while long-term agreements were signed with some of them. "The conclusion of such long-term agreements with others is either being contemplated or being prepared. This year, about 27 percent of our foreign trade was conducted with these countries."

On the debit side, Tito complained that Yugoslav requests for a permanent observer at sessions of Comecon (the Soviet bloc economic community) had been turned down. The most recent Yugoslav proposal—to become a full member of Comecon—has gone unanswered.

Moscow Declaration Under Fire

The December Moscow Statement of 81 Communist Parties (excluding Yugoslavia's) which briefly attacked "Yugoslav revisionism" was castigated by Tito for this "allegation." The Yugoslav President declared hotly:

"Those who accuse the Yugoslav leaders of being revisionists were incapable, even after 12 years of this allegation, of offering any convincing proof of what constitutes our revisionism, nor were they capable of offering a theoretical explanation of their charges which are exclusively in the nature of interference in our domestic affairs and distortion of the reality of our development and our foreign policy. . . . We know that it was just such people as those who were the initiators and authors of this statement in Moscow that back in 1948 attempted to jeopardize the achievements of our popular revolution."

He concluded by placing the blame for charges of "revisionism" on the Communist Chinese and on the "rotten compromise by means of false charges at the expense of a small Socialist country." (Radio Belgrade, December 26, 1960.)

Albanian Sallies

Tito's great foe, Albania, continued its attacks on Yugoslavia, although the other Soviet-bloc nations maintained cordial relations with Belgrade, the Moscow Statement notwithstanding. Typical of Tirana's vehemence was an article in the Albanian daily *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), December 18, 1960, discussing the "slandorous Yugoslav reaction to the Moscow Declaration" as exemplified in the Yugoslav press. Intemperately spewing forth accusations, the Tirana journal branded the Yugoslavs as "saboteurs of international organizations" and "active supporters of US imperialism." In sum, "the Yugoslav revisionists [are] the enemies of Socialism, the zealous and faithful lackeys of American imperialism, the saboteurs and splitters of the workers' movement and the peoples' movements for liberation, the inveterate enemies of peace and social progress."

Belgrade Protests Peiping's Distortions

At a Belgrade press conference on December 30, the Foreign Ministry's spokesman, Drago Kunc, revealed that a correspondent of the Communist Chinese news agency had been attacked on a Yugoslav road, December 15, and his car damaged. The Peiping radio, however, blew up the case by describing the incident as an attack on the correspondent's car "with bullets" and alleged that "no accident was in question but the continuance of an entire series of 'discriminatory restrictions and attacks'." This was denied by the Yugoslav official, who stated that the Chinese government intended to use "this incident for the purpose of its anti-Yugoslav campaign so as to strain even more the relations between the two countries." (Radio Belgrade, December 30, 1960.)

Albanian Spies Sentenced

Two "agents of the Albanian intelligence service" were sentenced to terms of from four to five years of "rigorous imprisonment for espionage activity in Yugoslavia," according to Radio Belgrade, January 6. The spies were convicted of "collecting data of a military, political and economic nature." They pleaded guilty.

Agreements

Trade agreements were signed with East Germany and Bulgaria for an exchange of goods from 1961 through 1965. Other accords included a health-care agreement and a youth exchange encompassing 450 persons from each country with Poland for 1961, and an agreement with Romania on the construction of a power station on the Danube.

The existence of secret negotiations between Hungary and Yugoslavia involving World War II debts was revealed by the Hungarian-language newspaper published in Yugoslavia, *Magyar Szó*, December 16, 1960. The daily announced that the Yugoslav members of the "mixed Hungarian-Yugoslav Committee, formed for the implementation of the 1956 financial agreement, have returned from Budapest. [The 1956 accord was concluded between Buda-



The State lottery. "I'll bet you lose again."

Szpilki (Warsaw), September 4, 1960

pest and Belgrade shortly before the October Revolt.—Ed.] This agreement provided for settlement of certain Yugoslav demands and must be implemented by June 1961. The mixed committee stated that shipments under the agreement are being carried on regularly and normally." Under the peace treaty, Hungary was compelled to pay 50 million dollars in reparations to Yugoslavia. Following the break between Tito and the USSR in 1948, Hungary suspended payments. After Khrushchev resumed more normal relations with Belgrade in 1955, negotiations resumed, but the Yugoslavs then demanded 75 million dollars, including a penalty for suspended payments. The Hungarian press has never made public the existence of the 1956 agreement.

Stalin's Birthday

The Stalinist rulers of Albania, unlike the other Satellite leaders, held nationwide memorial programs in honor of the 81st anniversary of Josef Stalin's birth, December 21. A large exhibition of Stalin memorabilia was organized in Tirana; workers' groups paid tribute to his memory by laying wreaths at the base of Stalin monuments. Radio Tirana, on the date of his birth, called Stalin "the illustrious leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . . who led the Soviet people in the glorious struggle for the building of Socialism and Communism."

Within the USSR, only two Soviet regional radios men-

tioned the anniversary, and in Stalin's native province of Georgia, the radio stressed the "erroneous side of Stalin's work . . . the cult of personality which perversely characterized the whole historical period of the work of our Party when Stalin headed its Central Committee." (Radio Tbilisi, December 21, 1960.)

POLAND

Party Membership Strengthened

The Party Central Committee revealed that during the first nine months of 1960, the Party's recruitment campaign had been unusually successful. During this period, 121,272 new candidates were accepted, 60,373 more than during the corresponding period in 1959. At the same time, 5,096 members and candidates were expelled from the Party, and 10,967 dropped for inactivity. The outcome of this campaign indicates increased local Party strength and liquidation of serious factional differences which plagued the Party between 1956 and 1959, necessitating verification campaigns and mass purges of Party members suspected of deviation from Gomulka's middle way.

The figures were analyzed in the Party organ *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), December 13, 1960, which stated that "although only 3,613 full-fledged members were dismissed . . . a great number of them were people who held responsible positions in the State and economic apparatus." Among them were apparently 257 directors of and 1,083 employees of State enterprises.

A drastic example of the "purge" which recently swept the Party organization on the county level was provided by Radio Warsaw, December 12, 1960. In Lowicz, the first county Party Secretary and two other Secretaries were dismissed from their posts because of "neglect expressed in the loosening of discipline, failure to fulfill political tasks . . . and tolerance of drunkenness."

Anniversary of PAX Group

In connection with the 15th anniversary of the founding of the so-called "progressive Catholic" Pax organization, a movement with Stalinist leanings long out of favor in the Vatican, chairman Boleslaw Piasecki spoke before 400 clergymen participating in the celebration. Party and government officials were not represented. Calling the movement "socio-political," Piasecki explained the credo under which he has tried to sell the movement to both the regime and the Church. The movement is based on "the imperatives of Polish patriotism," the principle of a "separate and dissimilar conception of the world in relation to philosophical materialism," and "conclusions stemming from an analysis of the contemporary trends in the world."

Discussing Pax's attitude toward Polish nationalism, Piasecki declared that "anti-rational and anti-Socialist elements appeal to the political instincts of the community,

hoping that in this way they will hinder the development both of Poland's future and that of the Socialist camp." The movement is also concerned with "the prospects of the clergy's authority in People's Poland. Nothing is so harmful to this cause as failure to overcome the association of the spiritual mission with habits proper to the capitalist system." In this respect, he felt that the difficulties of the Episcopate in administering the Catholic Church would disappear "when the lay Catholics fully commit themselves to the building of Socialism."

Regarding contemporary developments in the world, Piasecki stressed the necessity for the Soviet-Polish alliance, and praised the Party's espousal of Moscow's position that both "dogmatism" and "revisionism" must be refuted. "While opposing dogmatism and revisionism," he said, "we realize at the same time that we are bound by the current Party line and the line of the entire Socialist camp, giving, of course, due consideration to ideological differences which arise from the separateness of our beliefs and which impose on us somewhat different 'directives.'" The Vatican's misconceptions regarding the role of Pax were due to the "exploitation of religion by the defenders of capitalism [who] supply the Apostolic See with false premises." (*Slowo Powszechne* [Warsaw], December 15, 1960.) (A short biography of Piasecki can be found in *East Europe*, January 1961, pp. 24-25.)

School Reforms Forecast

In a speech before the Polish Teachers' National Congress, held in Warsaw, December 18-20, Polish Party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka announced that "the question of reform in education will quite soon be placed on the agenda of the [Party] Central Committee." Gomulka explained that the increase in the number of primary school children necessitated the opening of thousands of new classrooms; 3,200 school buildings with 22,000 classrooms were constructed in 1956-60. "During this time the State spent close to 10 billion *zloty* on the construction of schools and other needs in the field of education. Our expenditures for education in 1955 amounted to 380 *zloty* per person. By 1960, this figure had increased to 590, i.e., approximately 4 percent of the national income earmarked for distribution."

Discussing the teachers' financial situation, he reminded listeners that their salaries had been increased three times during the past five years. Their average monthly wage stood at 1,077 *zloty* in 1955; now, it totalled 1,727 *zloty* per month.

For the future, the Party First Secretary predicted that secondary education would have to be expanded to keep pace with the demographic peak which is shifting during the present Five Year Plan from primary school-age children to teenagers. Qualifications for teachers would be strengthened, since 76 percent of those teaching today have no university training.

Gomulka concluded with an appeal to the pedagogues to mould their charges in the "Socialist" spirit: "In teaching the mother tongue and literature, as well as the national and general history and geography, the school should in-

still in the young people hate for backwardness, oppression and exploitation, deep love toward one's own country and the will to fight for social justice and progress throughout the whole world." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], December 19, 1960.)

Death for Economic Crimes

Plagued by economic crimes against the "people's property," the regime took the drastic step of handing out a death sentence to B. Dedo, head of a group of 16 former leather tannery employees in Radom accused of stealing several million *zloty*. The other defendants received sentences ranging from 6 years to life imprisonment. (*Radio Warsaw*, December 22, 1960.) In its report of the courtroom proceedings *Kurier Polski* (Warsaw), November 29, 1960, wrote:

"For several weeks now, green prison vans have delivered the accused to the courtroom. Every day a crowd of witnesses wait their turn. Some are testifying voluntarily, others are brought in from prison. The 'mafia' had spread far and wide. Wherever there are big fish, you will also find the little ones. A tense and concentrated expression on the defense attorney's face. In this type of case, a lawyer's task is not easy. On the one hand, the duty fully to defend his client; and on the other, awareness of the social wrong done and the moral aspects of the case. The main defendant, Dedo, smiles at the camera. . . . He has admitted to only 400,000 *zloty* in illegal income. . . ."

Atomic Research Budget

The Council of State has allocated 185 million *zloty* out of the 1961 budget for research in atomic energy. Channeled through the Institute of Nuclear Research, the funds are to be used in financing atomic studies and the construction of additional research facilities. Plans for 1961 call for expanding the present institute, located in Swierk on the outskirts of Warsaw, and for constructing a new

institute in the city of Warsaw. Part of the additional funds is to be used for increasing awards to outstanding specialists in the field.

According to the report in *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), December 10-11, 1960, scientific cooperation pacts will be signed in the near future with "all other Socialist European countries conducting research in the same field." This announcement is in line with the growing emphasis on atomic research under the sponsorship of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The body's new permanent commission on peaceful uses of atomic energy, created last fall, held its first meeting during October in Moscow (see *East Europe*, December, 1960, p. 37).

Editor's Future In Doubt

When Mieczyslaw Rakowski was dropped as editor-in-chief of the Warsaw weekly *Polityka* last December, it was assumed that the young journalist had lost favor with the regime. Nevertheless, Rakowski remained in his position as Chairman of the Union of Polish Journalists, and continued to publish articles in the press. An attack on the United States as the so-called "irreconcilable defender of the sovereignty and independence of nations" appeared in *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), December 24-26, 1960, organ of the trade unions, leading some Western observers to conclude that the fate of Rakowski is still uncertain, with the strong possibility that he may be restored to grace.

Constitutional Changes

Two amendments to the Constitution were ratified by the Sejm [Parliament], December 22, 1960. The membership of the national legislative body was fixed at 460; previously, the number of deputies was dependent on the population: 1 deputy per 60,000 inhabitants, which allotted to the present Sejm 459 deputies. The second amendment ordered elections to the National Councils (organs of local



The family of B. Dedo, sentenced to death for stealing leather from the State, watch the proceedings at his trial.

Kurier Polski (Warsaw), November 29, 1960

MARCHING SONGS

The Communist propensity is to organize everything, even children. Throughout Eastern Europe children are regularly drafted to help bring in the crops or to collect junk and scrap metal as part of their contribution to building the new society. In Czechoslovakia these campaigns have been carried to the point where schoolteachers complain that they interfere with the education of the children. A magazine for teachers recently gave vent to the following satire.

"The Circle of Friends of Children this year held a competition for the text of a new children's song. There were many entries, and a special jury, after reading them all very carefully, has decided as follows:

"First and second prizes will not be awarded. Instead, three third prizes will be given, each worth 3,000 koruny. The winning entries are these:

Forward, Pioneers

Children like
Collections and brigades
And even more they love
Meetings and debates.

Refrain:

We like to learn
Because we are young.

Youth, Advance

We will not stay home
We all like to go
And collect waste
And do brigade work
In the garden.

Refrain:

Pioneers ahead. . .

Upward, Upward

All who are young
Love work.
With brigades they speed
Furrows to weed.

Refrain:

Upward, upward, pioneer youth.
Life passes with the speed of wind.

"The jury was particularly gratified by the way in which the texts expressed the wealth of interests and the hopes of our children, and it appreciated the clear optimism of our youth; as to the formal aspect of the competition, it was pleased with the wealth of language and the boldness of the rhythm. We hope that there will be composers who will match the winning entries with equally attractive melodies. We trust that the songs will awake in the children a happy vigor, and will help them become mature members of society."

Ucitelske Noviny (Prague), December 1, 1960

government) to be held at the same time as elections to the Sejm. Officials elected to these positions will serve four-year terms. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], December 23, 1960.)

Wawel Treasures Returned

After almost 17 years, all the famous Wawel Treasures are to be returned to Poland from Canada, where they were finally stored after 1939 to protect them from the approaching German Army. They will be placed in the hands of the appropriate State Museum authorities. Reportedly, this action was taken in part due to the intervention of the Polish Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński. (Radio Warsaw, January 3.)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Compulsory Schooling Extended

On December 15, the Czechoslovak National Assembly passed a bill extending compulsory education from 8 to 9 years. The new education law was also aimed at furthering the polytechnical school system, i.e. academic studies combined with practical training. The official Czechoslovak news agency *Ceteka*, of the same date, stated: "After-school centers for pupils of the first to fifth grades and school clubs for children of the fifth to ninth grades form part of the school system. At these centers and clubs children are looked after and educated in their free time and during the holidays by teachers and other trained personnel. . . . After completing the 9-year school at the age of 15, young people can attend vocational and apprentice schools, specialized schools and secondary schools which prepare them for university studies."

Slovak Alcoholism

Alcoholism and bootleg liquor have been brought to the attention of the Slovak public in two articles in the Bratislava journal *Lud*, December 16 and 17, 1960. From 1955 to 1959 per capita wine consumption increased from 2.1 to 4.3 liters. Per capita consumption of hard liquor, however, decreased over this same period from 3.96 to 2.3 liters. The article nevertheless complained that "no one has yet been able to establish the real quantity of secretly produced and distilled Slivovice, Borovicka and the sadly-renowned and harmful Lavorovice [comparable to bathtub gin—Ed.]." The police reported that in 1958-59, more than 7,000 cases of illegal distillation of spirits occurred in Slovakia, and during the first 9 months of 1960, there were 1,960 such cases.

The journal, in a column for women readers, warned: "Alcohol not only harms the organism of women but their future descendants as well. It affects successively all the main organs: the brain, the stomach, the heart, the lungs and kidneys, and poisons the nervous system. . . . Even the tasteless, treacherous and harmful 'cocktail hour'

drinking hurts women. If we are interested in health and beauty, let us realize that any alcoholic beverage is harmful to us, and therefore superfluous."

"People's Courts" To Be Established

Modelled after the "Comrades' Courts" (in which fellow workers act as judge and jury), and eventually designed to replace them, "Local People's Courts" will be set up throughout the country. Jiri Hendrych, a Secretary of the Party Central Committee, outlined the plan at the December 7-8 meeting of the Committee in Prague. He pointed out that these local courts, which are to be introduced by new legislation, do not imply any "withering away of the State," but rather "the development of Socialist Statehood into Communist self-administration." The new system "will create further favorable conditions for the working people's direct participation in the administration of the law."

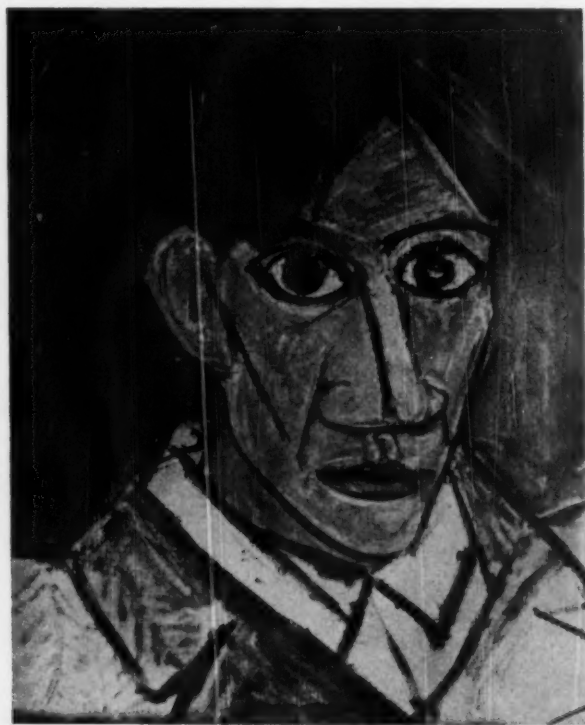
It was stated in connection with the introduction of the new courts that the number of people sentenced by the State judicial organs declined by 35 percent in 1959, "approximately one third of those sentenced in 1934." Since many criminals acts are not tried in State criminal courts, but dealt with directly by criminal or disciplinary commissions and Comrades' Courts, or not prosecuted at all, the

figure cited has little validity. Although State prosecutors and defense counsels will be drawn from the "community of workers, farmers and intelligentsia," the regime via the trade unions, youth associations and collective farm organizations will have the right to delegate to the court a "social prosecutor" or "social defense counsel" to express "the collective's view on the case pending." His presence in the court "will be desirable in cases involving men who actually deserve to be defended or in cases whose weight makes it necessary to stress condemnation by the collective all the more forcefully." The "social counsel for the defense" will have the right to propose that the court abstain "from imposing punishment, that it impose a milder punishment on probation or corrective measures while the social organization undertakes to guarantee the re-education of the defendant."

Legal Codes To Be Revised

The post-coup Civil Code of 1950 was declared to be outdated and "must be replaced by a new law." Hendrych said that the preparation of a new Code of Civil Procedure which will be in harmony with the changes in the civil and labor law will also be necessary.

Finally, the "growing role of social activities, the establishment of the local People's Courts and the developing



Two oil paintings by Picasso, from a collection of 30 modern paintings recently presented to the National Gallery in Prague by Dr. Vincenc Kramar, an 83-year-old art historian. Left, Self-Portrait, 1907. Right, Bust of Woman, 1908.

Czechoslovak Life (Prague), November 1950

educational mission of punishments imposed by the courts . . . call for some amendments to the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], December 13.)

Slovak Pilferers Sentenced

In late November the Bratislava *Pravda* described the forthcoming trial of 109 defendants accused of economic crimes against the State:

"Before the penal bench, there will be . . . drivers and their assistants of the Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation Enterprises, managers of dairy shops . . . and workers in the Bratislava dairies who . . . by thefts, various machinations and manipulations with stolen goods, have caused damage exceeding two million *koruny* to our economy over the past two years. . . . As their dossiers show, a considerable number of the defendants are former merchants, tradesmen working in this sector who are reluctant to give up their private capitalistic manners harmful to consumers and the national economy. For all of such, the Bratislava trial will no doubt be a serious warning."

The results were announced on December 22. The principal culprit, Frantisek Kollar, a dispatcher in the Bratislava dairies, stole 297,000 liters of milk and received a 12-year prison sentence. Other grave offenders were given prison terms ranging from 6 to 9 years. A few defendants received as little as a few months in prison or suspended sentences. (*Pravda* [Bratislava], December 23, 1960.)

HUNGARY

1961 Plan

Austerity is to be the principle guideline of the 1961 economic plan. While the rapid pace of industrial development is to be maintained and that of agriculture markedly increased, the investment needed to support this growth will be reduced by 8.1 percent. The official report of the Council of Ministers which approved the new plan on December 29 reads as follows: "Strict plan discipline must be enforced . . . waste must be prevented, indiscriminate spending of the people's assets, slackness and insubordination must be strictly controlled. The implementation of the plan demands that in every production field, from the very first day of the year, work must be carried on with elan and discipline." The burden of the austerity will be heaviest in agriculture and construction, where investments are to drop by 27.1 and 7.5 percent respectively below last year's levels. The cutback in funds for the countryside was presaged late last fall by the Party Central Committee resolution, which launched the third successive wave of collectivization, when it called for greater utilization of the peasants' own resources.

The government has apparently been encouraged by the successes achieved during the course of the Three Year Plan (1958-60). Even the revised version, which raised significantly the relatively modest goals of the original plan (see *East Europe*, March 1960, p. 45), is reportedly being

fulfilled: industrial production is said to have increased by 40 percent, agricultural output by 12 percent and national income by 20-22 percent over 1957, according to preliminary data. However, the government is not pleased by the way in which the targets were achieved, and the shortcomings have been the subject of a growing volume of criticism in the official press. The growth is said to be chiefly the result of large increases in employment and heavy investments instead of improved labor productivity which has lagged far behind planned targets. But the motives for the austerity program go beyond the need for thrift in the domestic economy. Repayment is due on the loans which refloated the economy after 1956. Out of the 475 million rubles received from the other Eastern European countries, 90 percent must be paid off in the 1959-63 period; and repayment of the 1,025 million ruble Soviet loan starts in 1961.

The Targets

Industrial production is to grow at the same rate as last year, namely, by 8 percent. The largest increases are envisaged for telecommunications (17.7 percent), precision instruments (15.8 percent)—both Hungarian specialties—crude oil (15 percent) and the chemical industry (13 percent). The consumer sector, as usual, is slated to expand less rapidly: light industry by 6.4 percent as compared with 8.6 last year, the food industry by only 4.5 as against 4.2 percent in 1960. The output of electric energy will increase by 9.3 percent, rolled steel 16.5, nitrogenous fertilizer 20, cement 10, shoes 11.8, furniture 9.9, paper 8.2 and sugar 5.9 percent.

The most remarkable figure is the 7.9 percent rise envisaged in agricultural output. It is especially noteworthy in view of the huge drop in investment outlay allocated to this sector and the all-out campaign to complete collectivization during the winter months. The main task will be to improve plant production, which is slated to increase by 10.6 percent as compared with the expansion of livestock breeding by only 4.5 percent.

The value of total investment is to decline from 33.4 billion *forint* in 1960 to 30.7 billion during the current year. About 15.0 billion of this will go into industry, or roughly half the total, while agriculture is slated to receive only 5.1 billion, transport 2.5 and building 2.5 billion. The drive for financial stringency and greater productivity is reflected in the small numerical increase of workers and employees, 85,000, or only 2.9 percent more than in 1960. The figure compares with 140,000 new workers who entered the labor force last year. Labor productivity itself is to improve by 5.6 percent, and production costs are to be lower by "at least" 2 percent.

The new turn of policy is also underscored by the relative stagnation of real incomes which are to increase by only 1.8 percent. While national income is slated to rise by 7 percent, consumption will increase by 4.1 percent. The turnover of State retail trade is to expand by 4.6 percent over the 1960 level. Foreign trade—71 percent of which is scheduled with other Communist countries—will increase by 13 percent. (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], January 1.)

Collectivization and the Harvest

The new collectivization campaign—which is to complete the “Socialist transformation of the countryside” by next spring—is gathering momentum. According to the official Party daily *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), January 5, “Hundreds of educators and organizers are on the road these days.” The “Socialist sector”—including both State and collective farms—now encompasses 82 percent of the country’s arable land; 150,000 new members have joined the collective farms since last summer.

One of the arguments used to support the regime’s decision to push on with collectivization is the claim that production has increased simultaneously with the reorganization of agriculture during the past three years. However, aside from the shortages of foodstuffs on the markets—admitted even in the official press—figures in the Central Statistical Office’s December publication show a considerable drop in both output and yields of the four principle grain crops. The figures given were as follows (output in thousand tons and yields in quintals per cadastral hold—one hold equals 1.42 acres):

	Output		Yields	
	1959	1960	1959	1960
Wheat	1909.3	1767.5	9.8	9.7
Rye	443.2	354.5	7.2	6.8
Barley	1093.3	985.7	11.6	11.2
Oats	255.8	245.1	8.7	8.3

One reason for the large drop in output of bread grains was the smaller amount of planted acreage during 1960, seven percent less than planned. The reason cited most frequently in the official media was bad weather. However, Radio Budapest said, December 3, 1960, “it would not be fair to blame the weather for all the blunders.” Lags in spring sowing, bad management of the collective farms, a shortage of manpower and unsatisfactory organization of work were among the shortcomings cited. “It must also be said,” the radio broadcast continued, “that in some collec-



A Czechoslovak film, “The Little Dove,” won the gold medal at last year’s International Film Festival in Venice. The female lead was played by Kate Irmanov. *Tschechoslowakei (Prague), December 1960*

tives the membership was unconcerned with common production and the members’ families did not take part in the work of the collectives.”

Youth Congress

The first Hungarian Communist Youth Congress (KISZ) was held in Budapest, December 16-17. Founded in the spring of 1957, the KISZ organization had as its main task the recruiting and training of Party members after the virtual collapse of the Party during the 1956 Revolt.

In the major address the First Secretary of KISZ, Zoltan Komocsin, urged that membership be increased (from the present 525,424), warning against rigid requirements for admittance, since even if someone enters KISZ “reluctantly, it will be possible to shape him into a good Communist in time.” He criticized the low number of peasants who are members, stating that although there are Party organizations in 90 percent of the collectives only half of them have KISZ organizations.

“Wonderful achievements by KISZ” were also listed in his report, particularly in the realm of “voluntary work.” On the occasion of a recent campaign, each KISZ member had to offer 20 hours of free work. In 1959, 310,000 young men and women worked 5 and one half million hours “voluntarily”; in the first nine months of 1960, 320,000 youngsters worked four and one half hours free.

More time was spent criticizing than lauding the KISZ stalwarts. Some members were labeled “undisciplined youngsters in the cities and villages . . . who fool around with girls during working hours . . . who use intolerable tones of voice when speaking to women and to their elders . . . who even disregard the moral laws of our society.” It

ANYBODY HEARD OF GOMULKA?

A survey of freshmen at Warsaw Polytechnic turned up these rather disillusioning facts:

When asked, “What daily and weekly papers do you read?” only four of the 500 who answered made mention of the Communist intellectual weeklies *Polityka*, *Przegląd Kulturalny* and *Nowa Kultura*.

About 85 percent of the respondents said that they had not attended the celebration organized at the Polytechnic to mark the 15th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist regime in Poland.

Not one of those who answered had taken active part in the programs of the student political organizations.

Zycie Szkoły Wyzszej (Warsaw), October 1960

SHUT UP, COMRADE

An attack on rumor-mongers: excerpts from an editorial in *Csongrad Megyei Hirlap*, the daily organ of Csongrad County in Hungary, December 15, 1960.

"Some well-informed people live among us and pursue a daily activity. They know everything better and much sooner than anyone else. We learn from them that 'transportation rates are going to increase,' that 'hundred-forint banknotes will be stamped' [i.e., devalued], that 'pigs will be requisitioned' and that 'Kadar will not be allowed to return from Moscow.' . . . There are also other kinds of gossip thrown into the world by rash and ill-considered talk. This gossip is 'true' and is gossip because it is spread before its time and by the wrong people. This gossip causes at least as much, if not more, trouble than the unfounded rumors.

"How many decent and honest comrades have found themselves in delicate, unpleasant and absurd situations because of irresponsible gossips. How often have 'well-informed persons' proclaimed far and wide the matters discussed at closed conferences, things having to do with the virtues and mistakes of certain people, adding that X is soon going to be replaced by Y because. . . ."

is important for KISZ "to distinguish between the real hooligans and those who merely engage in hooliganism. These latter must be won over, pulled in to our work programs, athletic, cultural and other activities, while energetic measures must be enforced against the former."

The greatest enemy against which KISZ must fight, however, was "passivity, a negative attitude toward political activity," expressed in indifference rather than hostility toward the Party policies.

Kadar Criticizes "Dogmatism"

In his address to the Congress, Party chief Janos Kadar echoed the sentiments of the KISZ leader. He was careful to stress in greater detail than Komocsin the dangers of a dogmatic method of admitting new members to the youth organization, illustrating his point by the following tale:

"If I remember correctly, the methods of admission . . . have been attacked once or twice. . . . I heard, as you did, too, that a young man had some difficulties with his admission because he could not give the name of the present Premier of Uruguay. He was advised to read [the Party organ] *Nepszabadsag* for another four months. If yesterday each of us here had been asked individually to name the Uruguyan Premier and our admission to KISZ had depended on this, I wonder whether one-fifth of those present would today be KISZ members. . . . One can hardly believe it possible that the admission to KISZ membership of a Hungarian village boy or girl is made dependent on whether he or she can tell the name of the Premier of a small South American State. This is obviously an error. How could we have become Communists, we who today work as Party members, if in our young workers' days there had not been older, more

learned comrades who educated and taught us without fault-finding and quiz questions?"

He ended by hailing KISZ as a "loyal auxiliary to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' [Communist] Party, trusted by the Party, to which the Party will grant all possible aid in the future so that a large number of talented youths can fill leading posts in Socialist construction." (*Magyar Ifjúság* [Budapest], December 17, 24.)

"Dogmatists"

Although the rulers of the Hungarian Party have identified themselves with Khrushchev's middle way between Chinese left-wing "dogmatism" and Tito-styled "revisionism," the threat of "dogmatism" is a very real one within the Party as a whole. Evidence of this was given by the Party chief, Janos Kadar, at the recent youth congress (see above); direct accusations against "some Hungarian Communists" for being unable to understand "that war is no longer inevitable" (i.e., for embracing the Chinese thesis) appeared in the official Party journal, *Társadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), December 1960.

The ideological review went on to explain that "some people cannot understand . . . that the forces of Socialism are capable of preventing the outbreak of a world war and local wars, and that on the international level the struggle against imperialism is the main spearhead of the class struggle." Furthermore, the Hungarian Party was urged "to struggle against pseudo-leftist tendencies. Our Party has ousted sectarian dogmatism from its policy, yet in practice we still come across some of its symptoms. Sectarian dogmatism does not take into account the changes occurring in life and treats Marxism as a closed and complete doctrine, although during the course of time some of the Marxist theses and deductions have undergone a transformation in accordance with the new historical conditions."

Students' Taste

In a questionnaire published in the November 1960 issue of the *Statistical Review*, Budapest university students in the medical and economic faculties gave their literary and political views. The results "give much food for thought." Regarding literature, music and fine arts, "the picture is favorable, but less so regarding subjects connected with their own studies." Only 7 percent of the economics students were interested in political issues, 4 percent in history, 1 percent in geography. Medical students showed even less interest in these fields. The "biased attitude toward literature and music," as the regime saw it, "stems from the influences prominent before the liberation when general education was identified with knowledge of the humanities." The census revealed that "those who seldom read do not select books properly, but prefer lighter works, often best-sellers dating from before the liberation and detective stories. Those who read regularly read mostly Hungarian and foreign classics, occasionally contemporary foreign authors, but very seldom do they read anything by contemporary Hungarian writers."



Foreign students in Prague. They represent (l. to r.) Uganda, Sudan, Cyprus and Japan.

Tschechoslowakei (Prague), December 1960

Monument to Repression

Latest in regime efforts to dignify the repression of the 1956 Revolt was the erection of a monument to "former comrades-in-arms, workers of the Ministry of Interior, policemen and partisans who died in the fight against the 1956 counterrevolution." The commemoration ceremony took place, December 10, at the Budapest Kerepesi Cemetery, site of the monument. The Defense Minister, Lajos Czinege, hailed "those who took up arms to defend the power of the proletariat and who remained loyal to the great Socialist cause to the end." Both Party members and men who were not members of the Party will be buried together—"all true men and gallant champions of Socialism, men who were not born heroes but became heroes in a bitter fight." (Radio Budapest, December 10, 1960.)

Back from London

Last fall, five Hungarian writers were invited to London with expenses paid by the British Council. The delegation was led by Bela Kopeczi, head of the Publishing Directorate, a reliable Party publicist. Of the other four, Tibor Kardos could also be considered as a strict follower of Communist doctrines, Aron Tamasi, Ferencz Juhasz and Geza Ottlik more independent of the Party line. After their return, December 12, Kopeczi reported his impressions of England over Radio Budapest, December 28, 1960.

Initially, he criticized Hungarian literary life for being

too "provincial," ignorant of "foreign literature and foreign experience." In this respect, the trip was a salutary experience. He also took a less favorable view of his experience:

"We were depressed by the stone buildings of the British capital, the terrific traffic and the mechanically fast pace of life. Even though British citizens maintain that capitalism is firmly established in England, they always have to search for compromises in order to solve their problems. . . . Since complete freedom of the individual is assured, the angry young men are ruling the field of literature, as we can see from the new plays and novels. But if this freedom is so great—and this society so good—why are these young people discontent?" The answer: "Because they are nourished on a capitalist society."

Troubles and Decrees in Housing

Signs of continuing—if not deepening—difficulties in housing the country's urban population have been appearing regularly in the press and radio. Numerous actions, directives and decrees tailored to cope with the problem have been taken recently. For instance, in Budapest where the shortage of living accommodations is most acute, the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council has issued a ban on the subdivision of State-owned apartments of two rooms, regardless of type, in an effort to stem growing congestion in the capital city. (*Nepszava* [Budapest], De-

THE APPROACH TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

The Communist press and radio have taken conflicting attitudes toward John F. Kennedy since his election to the Presidency of the US. While the Chinese Communists have insisted harshly that Kennedy will be no different from Eisenhower in his international policies, the Soviet and Satellite press have followed Premier Khrushchev's thesis that Kennedy is a new man who may pursue a different course. Here is the argument as expressed by one of the major Hungarian dailies:

"We must give Kennedy and his government time. Patience and, above all, good will, are needed for the elimination of international tension. The New Year address of the head of the Soviet government proves that the USSR on her part is prepared to forget the past and, by taking into consideration Kennedy's speech made last May in which he referred to the need for an apology, is willing to start serious initiatives toward sounder and more normal Soviet-American relations. However, even before assuming office, Kennedy has the right and the duty to try, in accordance with his mandate from the electorate, to prevent any senseless attack on Cuba or Laos which might lead to fatal consequences. In a short time, as master of the White House with powers exceeding the polite exchange of telegrams, Kennedy will be able to demonstrate his sense of the international realities and the extent to which he is able to draw conclusions from the development of the world situation."

Magyar Nemzet (Budapest), January 4, 1961

ember 15, 1960.) This local move follows close on a national government directive which went into effect in August. This earlier decree instituted payments of supplementary rents for under-utilized apartment space, and defined as excessive anything larger than a room roughly 10 feet by 13 feet per person. (See *East Europe*, October 1960, p. 48.)

The problem is aggravated by lags in the construction of new apartments. A recent Trade Union Congress of Building and Building Material Workers devoted its attention exclusively to stepping up the pace of housing construction. Moreover, when new apartments are turned over for occupancy they are said to be of low quality. The Trade Union daily *Nepszava*, December 18, 1960, gave the following description of a new housing development:

"... the door of one of the apartments can be locked only by a locksmith's tricks, doors and window frames stick. On the third floor we are shown a door knob that broke off on the very first try. We pass through eight to ten apartments, and everywhere we find something wrong due to the slackness of the building company. But what about repairs? Oh yes, they are going to repair everything, but only after one year when the guarantee will have expired."

Gero Back

Erno Gero, Party chief on the eve of the 1956 Revolt, has returned to Hungary from the USSR where he had fled during the uprising. The report of his arrival appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune*, December 14, 1960, and has been neither denied nor admitted by the regime. Gero was the driving force behind the Stalinist, pre-Revolt Five Year Plan; he replaced Matyas Rakosi as Party First Secretary in July 1956 in an effort to stem anti-Soviet feelings. It seems unlikely he will be permitted to engage in any significant political activity in the near future.

ROMANIA

US-Romanian Cultural Exchange Signed

Negotiations on the establishment of exchanges in the cultural, educational and scientific fields in 1961-62 were completed in Washington, December 9. Reciprocal cultural agreements were exchanged by Georghe Macovescu, Romanian envoy to Washington and US Assistant Secretary of State Foy Kohler. The American charge d'affaires ad interim in Bucharest, Frederick T. Merrill, expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of negotiations, stating that the exchanges of artists, delegations and exhibitions "ought to lead to more contacts, and consequently, to better understanding between the peoples of the two countries." (Radio Bucharest, December 10, 1960.)

Credits and Tractors for Cuba

Credits valued at \$15 million will be extended to the Cuban government. In addition, 2,000 tractors, or 10 percent of total Romanian tractor production, are to be shipped to Havana during 1961. These were the provisions of the first annual protocol, signed January 7 by the two governments, within the framework of the long-range economic agreements concluded last fall.

In return for the oil field equipment, road building machinery, chemical products, agricultural produce, etc. which will be imported from Romania, Cuba is to supply sugar, nickel oxide, textile fibers, coffee and other food products. The fact that sugar (although not the quantity involved) appeared on the Cuban export list is striking since Romania recently became self-sufficient in this commodity. According to Party leader Gheorghiu-Dej, in his report on the economic plan for 1961, made last November 1, a surplus of domestically produced sugar will be available for export during the current year.

Romanian industry is slated to produce 20,000 tractors during 1961, out of which 60 percent will be retained for domestic use. This means that one fourth of total tractor exports in 1961 will go to Cuba.

A technical and scientific pact was also signed which provides for the training of Cuban technicians, acceptance of students in Romanian higher educational institutions and specialists to aid in various fields of Cuban economic development. (Radio Bucharest, January 7.)

THUMBS DOWN

"That's strange, did you have an accident? Do you play handball or basketball?" A 19-year-old youth had come to the medical center. The thumb of his right hand hurt in the joint; sometimes it swelled, hindered him in his work and made life unpleasant. The X-Ray did not show anything serious. There had been no accident, no fracture, etc. Well, what was the matter with it? Then the young fellow confessed. Two years before he had wanted to extend his vacation. How to do it? Some fellow apprentices had given him this advice: go to Lojza, let him sprain your thumb, and you'll get your disability certificate with no trouble at all. And so it happened. It was not a pleasant experience, but it served the purpose and got him his 14 days off. But since then there had been no strength in the thumb. . . .

"An isolated case? Not at all! Just ask foremen, directors and group supervisors. There seem to be quite a number of 'artists' about who are ready to sprain someone's thumb with or without fee.

"Seventeen-year-old Jarka resorted to 'Do-It-Yourself.' To extend his vacation he put his left thumb on the table and hit the joint with a hammer which his mother had tried in vain to wrest from him. Probably it was not pleasant for him, but can you imagine how his mother suffered? What was she to do? Go and inform on her own son, for whom she would have done anything in the world?

"People have invented various methods of self-mutilation. Let us not talk about them. We are ashamed for them. Why do they do it? Because of a desire for idleness, for longer vacations, for escaping their duty, because they unreasonably fear a bad mark. Luckily there are not many such youths, but they can lead others astray. . . ."

From a letter by a Prague doctor to the editor of the youth newspaper *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), December 29, 1960

Territorial Reorganization

A territorial-administrative reorganization involving changes in the constitution was presented to the Romanian National Assembly, December 23. Romania continues to have 16 regions, but 8 of these have reverted to their historical, traditional names, and the Hungarian Autonomous Region now incorporates districts such as Samos and Ludus, boosting its economic importance. The following regions will be renamed: Baia Mare is changed to Maramures; Constanta to Dobrudga; Craiova to Oltenia; Oradea to Crisana; Pitesti to Arges; Stalin to Brasov; Timisoara to Banat; the Magyar Autonomous Region to Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region. The administrative districts have been reduced by 43, bringing the number down to 146. (Radio Bucharest, December 24, 1960.)

Electoral Law Modified

Another article of the constitution, regarding the period of time elapsing between the expiration of parliament and the election of a new one, has been changed. Under the new ruling a National Assembly can be elected before the mandate of the old Assembly has expired. By government decree parliamentary elections will be held March 5, 1961, when 465 representatives to the Assembly, and local People's Councils throughout the nation, will be chosen. (Radio Bucharest, January 3.)

Budget for 1961

In line with the rapid pace of economic development set forth in the economic plan for 1961, revenues and expenditures of the State budget will rise 14.2 percent and 17.6 percent respectively as compared with the income and outgo during 1960. The targets for the current year—a 13.5 percent growth of output in industry, a 19 percent expansion of agricultural production and a 15 percent rise in national income—will be supported by a record outlay of expenditures, including a 29 percent increase in capital investments from the State's resources. Details of the budget, presented by Finance Minister Aurel Vijoli to the Grand National Assembly for approval on December 22, compared with last year as follows (in billion lei):

	1960 Planned	1960* Realized	1961 Planned
Revenue	56.8	57.5	65.7
National economy	52.9	54.0	61.7
Turnover taxes and enterprise profits	31.5	31.1	37.5
Taxes on population	3.8	3.5	3.9
Expenditures	55.9	55.1	64.8
National economy	33.6	34.4	39.9
Investments	14.8	13.6	17.6
Social and cultural	13.4	13.7	15.2
Education	3.3	...	4.2
Science and culture	0.9	...	1.2
Social insurance	3.4	...	3.7
Health and sports	3.0	...	3.2
Social welfare	0.9	...	1.0
Family allowances	1.6	...	1.9
State administration	1.6	...	1.8
Defense	3.5	...	3.5
Reserve fund	2.5	...	2.7
Surplus	0.8	2.4	0.9

* Preliminary data.

The large growth in expenditures, especially for capital investment—which is one of the most significant items in the budget—reflects the growing need, at this stage in the country's development, for providing more and more capital-intensive technology in both industry and agriculture in order to raise productivity. Out of the total outlay of funds for the national economy, the share of investments has climbed from 34.2 percent in 1958 to a scheduled 44.2 percent in 1961.

According to the Finance Minister, total investments this

year will amount to 27.9 billion *lei*, roughly 60 percent of which will come from the State's purse, while the remainder is to be supplied by individual enterprises, organizations and banks. About 26 percent more funds than in 1960 will be pumped into industry. In agriculture, investment is to total 7.3 billion *lei* (roughly 14 percent more than the 1960 figure), and 4 billion of this will be furnished by the State budget. These expenditures are to include a greater volume of long-term credits to collective farms and agricultural associations, as well as 1.5 billion *lei* allocated for expansion of the Machine Tractor Stations, or 22.7 percent more than in last year's budget.

The balance sheet of the local People's councils will total 10.8 billion *lei*. Roughly 3.5 billion of this will go for investment purposes, especially in the housing sector (38 percent) where the local governmental bodies are responsible for providing a large portion of the financing necessary for building the 37,000 apartments slated for 1961. (*Scinteia* [Bucharest], December 23, 1960.)

BULGARIA

1961 Plan

The delegates to the National Assembly, which met December 16-19 to place its stamp of approval on the economic plan and budget for 1961, heard planning chief Stanko Todorov proclaim the victory of the "big leap forward." The economy, he said, was "in general" expected to fulfill the Third Five Year Plan (1958-62) by the end of 1960. A new, as yet unpublished, Fourth Five Year Plan (1961-65) goes into effect this year, synchronizing the Bulgarian planning period with that of the rest of the Soviet bloc.

However, even the facts and figures given by the chief planner from preliminary plan fulfillment data indicated that many of the astronomical targets set forth in the past two years were not attained. The value of gross national product was said to be only slightly short of the 100 billion *leva* originally envisaged for 1962, but it was not clear whether this figure, as well as several others given by Todorov, had been calculated on the same basis as the target figure. The volume of industrial production, Todorov said, was 63 percent higher in 1960 than in 1957, whereas the original target for 1962 was only 60 percent. Nevertheless, industrial output had fallen short of its mark in 1959; and in 1960, although the size of the target was notably reduced, output was roughly 2.2 percent below the 15.2 percent increase planned. In agriculture, the planning chief admitted that the plan had not been fulfilled "in a number of goods." Only a fraction of the huge 73.9 percent rise in agricultural production slated for 1959 was achieved, and the National Assembly was given no figure indicating whether the 32 percent increase scheduled for 1960 would be reached.

The upshot of the experience of the past three years has led to a lowering of sights. Although the long-range goals

of the new Fourth Five Year Plan have not been formulated, the 1961 plan is most remarkable for its moderation. Industrial production is to grow by only 7.8 percent, the smallest annual increase in industrial output ever planned by the Bulgarian Communists. While no specific percentage increase was given at the Assembly for agricultural production, Radio Sofia, January 4, noted that if this sector fulfilled expectations for 1960 the target for the countryside during 1961 would be only 10 percent. The usual preference will be given to the capital goods sector of industry; while little was said of light industry, production in the food industry is to grow by 8.5 percent.

Output goals for specific key items were given as follows (percentage increases over 1960, when given, are in parentheses): electric power, 5.4 billion kwh. (17); coal and lignite, 18.7 million tons; steel, 387,000 tons (34.5); rolled metal goods, 337,600 tons (52); nonferrous metals, (8.3); internal combustion engines, 17,265 (71); electric motors, 290,500 (37); power transformers, 4,051 (14); batteries, 1,104 (169); lathes, 1,930 (20); drilling machines, 1,485 (46); motorcycles, 9,000 (20); unprocessed nitrogenous fertilizers, 287,400 tons; unprocessed phosphoric fertilizers, 366,700 tons (85); sulfuric acid, 211,000 tons (59); calcined soda, 185,500 tons (33); plastics and synthetic resin, 9,800 tons (63); tires, 253,000 (36); cement, (19.2); bricks, (26.4); meat products, (20.7); canned vegetables, (21.9); wine, (30.6); cheese, (12.4); canned fruits, (12).

In the agricultural sector, yields in winter wheat are, surprisingly, expected to decline, but the planted acreage of cereals is to increase by roughly 7,402 hectares which is hopefully expected to eliminate grain imports. Yields of other important agricultural products, however, are slated to increase substantially. In animal breeding—a chronically delinquent branch of Bulgarian agriculture—the number of cattle is to increase by 8.7 percent and of sheep by 3.4 percent, but the numbers of pigs and poultry are planned to decline by 2 and 7 percent respectively below the expected fulfillment at the end of 1960. Irrigated acreage will increase to 750,000 hectares, or an increase of 17 percent; and 12.6 percent more fertilizers and 6,277 tractors will go into the countryside.

In line with the modest advance scheduled for 1961, net capital investment is to increase by only 2.2 percent, totalling 7.8 billion *leva*, as compared with a 22.9 percent increase in 1960 over the previous year. Industry will claim 65.4 percent of the total, agriculture 9.5, transportation and communications 11.1, cultural-social building 9.4; the corresponding figures last year were 56.8, 15.2, 9.8 and 13.1 percent. The targets for improved labor productivity have also been reduced as compared with last year's figures: industry 4.8, construction 2.3, railway transportation 3.6, the machine tractor stations 4.5 and retail trade 1.1. Employment in all branches of the economy (except the collective farms) is to expand by 57,900 new workers, of whom 27,900 will go into industry.

Another irregular feature of the plan is the larger share of national income which is to be consumed. Compared with 1960 when the accumulation fund absorbed 29.7 percent of national income, during 1961 only 26.2 percent is

slated for this purpose. Moreover, real income per capita is expected to rise by about 9 percent. "The reduction in the share of the 'accumulation' fund," Todorov said, "is a result of the decision already taken by the Party and the government to increase wages and salaries and raise even more the working people's standard of living." In order to bring about this improvement, however, investment in agriculture and the construction of cultural and social facilities will suffer. Retail trade is slated to expand by 5.9 percent.

The value of foreign trade is planned to increase by 8.9 percent with imports expanding by 6.7 percent and exports by 11.1 percent. More than 80 percent of the total turnover of goods is to be with other Communist countries. (*Zemledelsko Zname* [Sofia], December 17, 1960.)

Budget for 1961

The State budget for 1961 demonstrates, like the economic plan, the sharp retreat from the huge goals which were characteristic of the "big leap forward." According to Finance Minister Kiril Lazarov, who presented the budget to the National Assembly for approval on December 16, the budget revenues of the three-year period 1959-61 (slated to total 91 billion *leva*) will exceed the State's revenue during the entire Second Five Year Plan (1953-57). However, the increases this year are only a fraction of those of the past three years. A breakdown of the budget law (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], December 21, 1960) compares with last year as follows (in billion *leva*):

	1960 Planned	1960 Realized	1961 Planned
Revenue	31.2	...	33.2
National economy	24.4	27.3	25.6
Turnover tax	7.5	7.3	7.7
Enterprise profits	6.1	5.5	6.6
Others	14.6	13.0	13.2
Income tax from co- operatives and farms	0.7	0.6	0.7
Revenue from MTS...	0.8	0.9	1.1
Taxes on population	2.9	3.4	3.8
Direct taxes	1.4	1.6	1.8
Expenditures	30.8	30.5	32.9
National economy	20.2	20.0	21.2
Social and cultural	6.6	6.4	7.0
Education	2.2	2.2	2.4
Science, art, culture.....	0.7	0.6	0.6
Health and recreation...	1.1	1.1	1.2
Social security	2.6	2.5	2.8
National defense	1.8	1.8	2.1
Administration	0.7	0.7	0.8
Surplus	0.3	...	0.2

Compared with last year when revenue rose by 15.2 percent and expenditures by 16.5 percent, the respective increases in 1961 over 1960 are only 6.4 and 6.8 percent. Moreover, expenditures on the national economy—the pivotal item of the budget—are to grow by only 6 percent as against 15.4 percent in 1960 and 57.6 percent in 1959.



A shortage of spare parts for farm machinery is a complaint of peasants everywhere in Eastern Europe. "Why are you dismantling a brand new tractor?" "We are distributing spare parts."

Kooperativno Selo (Sofia), November 20, 1960

Although the share of total revenue supplied by the turnover tax, which is one of the main sources of the State's income, has declined slightly in the past few years, during 1961 it will rise to 43.6 percent as compared with 41.9 percent last year. Enterprise profits have been slated to provide an increasing portion of the State's income, but in 1960 this source fell considerably below its scheduled quota. The rise in the amount of taxes collected from the population was explained by the Finance Minister in terms of three-phase wage and salary increases granted during 1960 (said to have affected 1.35 million workers) and the expansion of employment. Out of total expenditures of 7.6 billion *leva* slated for industry during this year, 4.8 billion will come from the State budget; in agriculture, the State is to furnish 3.1 billion *leva* out of a total of 5.6 billion worth of expenditures.

The budget of the local People's Councils will total 8 billion *leva*, or roughly the same as in 1960.

French Seize Bulgarian Ships

In November and December three merchant ships were commandeered by the French Navy and searched for arms en route to the Algerian rebels. The Bulgarian authorities protested to the French Government, and Radio Sofia, December 28, 1960, used the "acts of piracy" to attack "imperialism and colonialism":

"These acts coincide, despite the protests by world public opinion and especially by the African peoples, with the new and third test of a French atomic bomb in the Sahara. . . . Among other things these activities aim at frightening the African peoples and all those who support them, primarily the Socialist countries, and thus at consolidating France's hopelessly shaken position in Africa. . . . This is a reaction peculiar to French imperialism and colonialism and indicates its helplessness at its inability to break the heroic resistance of the Algerian people who are struggling for peace and independence. However, despite all the efforts of the French imperialists, the liberation of Algeria as well as of the other colonies is inevitable. . . . In this struggle they will not remain alone."

Eastern Europe Overseas

The East European Satellites have played a little-publicized but important part in the Communist drive to win friends and influence among countries that are not allied to the West. Trade missions, technicians and cultural delegations are in constant movement between the capitals of Eastern Europe and the "uncommitted countries." We give below a summary of the most important contacts made in the last month.

December 8 Poland signed a contract to deliver to India during 1962-65 a complete scooter and motorcycle factory valued at about five million dollars. (Radio Warsaw.)

A factory producing Czechoslovak "Jawa" motorcycles is to begin operations in Mysore, India, in January 1961. The factory has a yearly production capacity of 15,000 machines, and is entirely designed and equipped by Czechoslovakia. (CTK [Prague].)

Czechoslovakia has begun delivery on machines and technical assistance for a footwear plant in Columbo, Ceylon, with a production capacity of 300,000 pairs of shoes per year. (CTK [Prague].)

December 12 Czechoslovak champion athletes Emil and Dana Zatopek left for Tunis where they will lecture for two weeks at the National Sports Institute on track and field training methods. (CTK [Prague].)

Hungary will build a glass factory in Conakry, Guinea, beginning in 1962. The Guinean managerial staff will go to Hungary to study manufacturing methods. (Radio Budapest.)

December 13 A Ghanaian government delegation headed by Minister Ayah Kumi, chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation of Ghana, visited Hungary on December 10-13, and made an agreement in principle for a commercial treaty between the two countries. (Radio Budapest.)

December 15 Poland signed a second successive contract with Cuba for delivery of Polish construction machinery to the value of 1.2 million foreign currency *zloty*. The machines will be supplied by the Lodz technical equipment factory and by the Zetana works in Zawiercie. (Radio Warsaw.)

The Somali Minister of Education arrived in Czechoslovakia for talks on cooperation in the field of education. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

December 17 Poland has executed a 1-million-dollar transaction with Cuba for the design, delivery and assembly in Cuba of two window and bottle glass factories to begin operating early in 1962. (Radio Warsaw.)

A Czechoslovak producers and consumers cooperative delegation headed by Josef Nepomucky, chairman of the Central Cooperative Council, returned from a trip made to India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and Japan for the purpose

of expanding relations and trade with local cooperatives. (CTK [Prague].)

December 18 The Cuban government delegation which arrived in Budapest December 17 agreed with the Hungarian government to establish diplomatic relations on the embassy level. The protocol was signed by the Hungarian Foreign Minister Endre Sik and Ernest Guevara, head of the Cuban delegation. (Radio Budapest.)

December 19 A Syrian-Czechoslovak agreement signed December 14 provides for delivery to Syria of 20 million *koruny* worth of Czechoslovak machinery, including 46 electric generators, diesel power plants, buses, water works, etc. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

An Egyptian order for seven diesel locomotives has been given to Czechoslovakia in competition with West Germany, France, Japan, Austria and other producers. (Radio Prague.)

The director of Television Revolution of Cuba is in Prague to negotiate the delivery of television films for Cuba. (CTK [Prague].)

December 21 Czechoslovak technicians left for Ethiopia to install machinery in a footwear factory in Addis Ababa. Negotiations were being carried on at the same time for the construction of another footwear factory in that city. (Radio Prague.)

December 22 A contract has been signed for the export of satele (a rare wood) from Ghana to Czechoslovakia. Under the contract, which will be fulfilled in 1961, Ghana will become the largest supplier of this wood to the Czechoslovak furniture industry. (Radio Prague.)

December 23 Under a Polish-Cuban trade protocol signed on December 22, Poland will export to Cuba electronic equipment, agricultural, mine and construction machinery, railway cars and "various consumer goods," including gas ranges. A considerable proportion of Polish exports to Cuba will consist of foodstuffs. Cuba will send to Poland copper concentrates, manganese ore, synthetic fibers, leather and other products. Poland will also set up complete industrial plants in Cuba, including a shipyard, a battery plant and a nail factory. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw]; PAP [Warsaw].)

The Cuban government delegation headed by Ernest Guevara arrived in Prague. Guevara said at a press con-

ference that the Soviet bloc countries had undertaken to purchase from Cuba four million tons of sugar at a price 20 percent above the world market. (CTK [Prague].)

December 24 Poland has concluded agreements on scientific and technical cooperation with Iraq, Guinea, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, India, Ghana and Cuba. The following projects are under negotiation: Iraq, serial photographs of 185,000 square kilometers for map making, and technical research for a paper plant at Basra; Egypt, harbor construction at Port Said; Guinea, geological prospecting for iron, copper, manganese ore, calcium, and radioactive minerals; India, designs for horizontal cranes for an engineering plant; Syria, designs for a housing development at Damascus. By mid-November (1960), 62 experts from the Polish technical services export office were working in underdeveloped non-Communist countries. (PAP [Warsaw].)

In the framework of the three-year trade and payments agreement of May 1960, the United Arab Republic and Hungary signed an agreement in Cairo on December 22. Hungary will grant industrial credits to the UAR, repayable over a five-year period, to cover purchase and transport of heavy industrial equipment. In return the UAR will give Hungary favorable terms for the purchase of raw cotton and other goods. (MTI [Budapest].)

December 26 A Romanian government delegation, headed by Minister of Trade Gogu Radulescu, left India after negotiation of an agreement under which India will send progressively larger amounts of iron ore to Romania through 1965, in return for Romanian oil industry equipment and other goods. (Radio Bucharest.)

December 30 Cuba and Czechoslovakia signed an agreement on exchanges between cultural, scientific, artistic and educational institutions and social organizations of the two countries. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

Cuban and Hungarian television representatives signed an agreement in Budapest on exchanging television programs. Hungary will send Cuba features on the "development of Hungarian agriculture and industry, the building of Socialism, the Hungarian people's life and struggle for peace." Cuba will send in return features dealing with the "people's movement and the country's development." Cuba will also send Hungary films of towns and villages, typical scenery, etc. On July 26, Hungarian television will commemorate Cuban National Day, and Cuban television will present a special program on Hungarian Liberation Day. (Radio Budapest.) The director of Cuba's Television Revolution proceeded to Bulgaria on January 7 to discuss television cooperation between Cuba and Bulgaria. (Radio Sofia.)

December 31 A trade delegation arrived in Prague from Afghanistan to negotiate a scientific and technical cooperation pact. The Afghan Trade Minister stated in a talk with the CTK representative: "We now have three factories which you have built for us: two cement plants and a fruit cannery. We are very satisfied indeed with the operation of these plants. Your experts who assisted in the construction worked with great devotion and are masters in

their field." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

A 1961 goods exchange agreement was signed between Hungary and Cuba, under which Hungary will deliver to Cuba machine tools, trucks, tractors, instruments, chemical and pharmaceutical industrial products, among other things. Cuba will send Hungary nickel oxide, raw hides and industrial goods. Hungary will also provide Cuba with telephone exchanges, complete telecommunications installations and other factory installations. It has also undertaken to provide professional and post-graduate training for Cuban workers, engineers and technicians as well as university students, and to send Hungarian agricultural and industrial technicians to Cuba. The Cuban government trade delegation left Hungary for Romania January 2. (Radio Budapest.)

January 5 A protocol on payments and trade in 1961 between Poland and Tunisia was signed in Warsaw. Trade turnover on both sides will amount to 3.5 million dollars, a 40 percent increase over last year. Polish exports to Tunisia will include machinery and equipment, textiles, coal, pharmaceuticals, bentwood furniture, radios, sewing machines, food products such as seed potatoes, butter, cheese, beer, and other goods. Poland will import from Tunisia iron ore, raw hide, zinc concentrates, nonferrous metals, fodder, cork, citrus fruit, almonds, etc. (PAP [Warsaw].)

As a result of the rupture of U.S.-Cuban diplomatic relations, Czechoslovakia has assumed diplomatic representation of Cuban interests in the United States at the request of the Cuban government. (Radio Prague.)

January 7 During the week of January 3-7 Romanian and Cuban trade representatives in Bucharest carried out negotiations on a 1961 trade protocol, under which Romania will send to Cuba oil industry equipment, road building machinery, refrigeration compressors and other industrial equipment, chemical products, mineral oil, agricultural food products, 2,000 tractors, and other goods. Cuba will supply Romania with sugar, nickel oxide, textile fabrics, coffee and other food products. In addition, Romania will train Cuban technicians and university students and will send specialists to Cuba. Specialized publishing houses in Romania will translate certain technical and scientific books into Spanish. (Radio Bucharest.)

January 9 Czechoslovakia will equip a new factory in India for making tires. The products of the new enterprise, under an agreement with the company in Calcutta, will bear the Czechoslovak trademark "Barum." (Radio Prague.)

The Cuban trade delegation signed an agreement in Sofia under which Bulgaria will grant Cuba a long-term credit of \$5,000,000 and will provide technical aid for industrial plants to be established by 1965, in return for Cuban products. (BTA [Sofia].)

The first 20 Indian experts who will work as chief engineers, technicians and foremen at the metallurgical plant which the Lenin [former Skoda] Works is building in India are due to arrive shortly in Czechoslovakia. A total of 130 Indian experts are scheduled to come to Czechoslovakia for training programs. (CTK [Prague].)

Book Review

Rationality in Communist Economics

VALUE AND PLAN, *edited with an introduction by Gregory Grossman, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960, 370 pp., \$7.00.*

LYNN TURGEON

A SUMMIT MEETING of some of the world's leading Sovietologists was held in Berkeley in June 1958. Thirteen papers under the general heading of "Economic Calculation and Organization in Eastern Europe" were read and discussed by approximately 100 economists (and one sociologist) assembled under the joint auspices of the Center for Slavic Studies and the Department of Economics of the University of California. These scholarly papers, together with short critiques by some of the leading participants in the symposium, have now been edited by Professor Gregory Grossman.

The papers reflect the many changes which have been made or proposed in the organization and planning of the Eastern European economies during the past decade. The authors were in general agreement that most of these reforms seemed to be aimed at greater economic efficiency or "rationality"; in the more precise language of economists, the goal was to adjust economic activity so as to obtain greater outputs from given inputs and/or given outputs with lesser inputs. The problem of economic rationality is a complicated one and the general reader

should be warned that these are scholarly papers fully reflecting this complexity.

The origin of this comparatively recent emphasis on qualitative performance as opposed to the former preoccupation with achieving quantitative targets, is a question which frequently crops up in the papers and discussion. Why have economists in Communist countries begun to discuss seriously the need for a more rational approach to cost accounting, relative price formation, investment decision-making, and industrial administration and organization? As Dr. Zauberman and others point out, we might logically expect that expanding economies would open up greater possibilities for the complex choices which are the basis of the need for rational decision-making. Paradoxically, underdeveloped or frugal economies—which have the greatest need for getting the most out of the least—may have comparatively few opportunities for choice open to them. As economies become more industrialized and wealthy, the potentialities for choice widen.

But this hypothesis that the drift toward greater rationality is related to the growing wealth of the Communist economies does not explain some important recent developments. Yugoslavia, which is not exactly an affluent country, was the first to decentralize the administration of its industry—followed by the USSR in 1957. According to J. M. Montias, the discussion of reform in the relative prices

of producers' goods along Western "marginalist" lines seems to have originated and progressed furthest in Poland, and Bergson points out that some Indian economists are preoccupied with rational pricing methods. Even the most chauvinistic Yugoslav, Pole or Indian would hardly claim that his country is wealthier than the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia. Obviously there is a political factor involved. Discussions concerned with reforming the economic system are likely to originate and flourish in the less orthodox Communist countries, or in non-Communist countries engaged in economic planning, and their conclusions may feed back and be implemented faster as well as more effectively in the more industrialized Soviet-type economies such as Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union itself.

Some of the topics under discussion by Communist planners and economists are obviously related to the growing industrial maturity of their countries. As Campbell makes clear, deficiencies in the amortization deductions employed in cost accounting have been chronic in the USSR, especially during the period of rampant inflation that ended in 1949. As long as replacement of existing capital was an academic question, there was little pressure to revise amortization practices. But as Hardt points out in his essay on investment in electric power stations, replacement investment or the modernization of antiquated Soviet electric power installations is currently of considerable interest. Now that capital is relatively more abundant and therefore replace-

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able—and since inflation has been superseded by gradual disinflation—both a revaluation of existing capital and an upward revision of amortization rates have become more feasible if not absolutely essential.

As the Soviet economy has matured, the critical supply problems of the Thirties have become somewhat more manageable so that it is now possible for factory managers to consider the possibility of divesting themselves of certain functions. According to Campbell, it may no longer be as essential for each plant to pursue autarky and manufacture all the components of its product. Instead it can now consider the possibility of relying on specialized producers of components, much as American firms do. If greater specialization is at hand, then it is imperative to have more accurate cost data both within and outside the plant for the purposes of rational decision-making.

By the same token, greater specialization at the international level will also require greater accuracy in cost accounting and price setting throughout the entire Soviet bloc. As long as Soviet-type economies pursued policies of autarky, there was less need for an accurate knowledge of production costs. But with the development of extensive intra-bloc trade, including a program of planned intra-bloc specialization via the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, attention to these details could no longer be postponed.

Donald Hodgman argues in his essay that progress in Soviet financial controls, such as reductions in the temporarily free working balances of individual enterprises and much larger surpluses in the government's budget, may explain the "improved record of inflation control which has been the outstanding achievement of Soviet postwar monetary policy." In his critique of Hodgman's paper, Professor Holzman is inclined to give greater credit for the relatively successful control of inflation in the USSR since 1949 to improved physical planning and to a reduction in the degree of over-full employment. In other words, Holzman seems to feel—and this reviewer concurs—that "real" factors in the Soviet economy take precedence over the monetary, and

to a large extent determine the monetary processes.

On the other hand, the new decentralized Yugoslav system substantially limits its central planners to monetary and tax policy in their attempts to obtain a desired national output, as Ward and Bicanic make clear. Presumably the recent linking of the Yugoslav economy to the Western international monetary system also reflects more confidence by the Yugoslavs in the efficacy of monetary controls. In this connection, one wonders if it is only a coincidence that the cost-of-living index is still rising in Yugoslavia (it rose by 10 percent in 1960), in sharp contrast to the relative price stability or disinflation characterizing most Soviet-bloc economies where monetary controls seem to play a subsidiary role.

The conference took place shortly after Premier Khrushchev's reorganization of the bulk of Soviet industrial administration from a branch (or "production") to a territorial principle, and a number of the papers deal with the potentialities and problems arising from this epoch-making event. I feel that Michael Kaser, in particular, has presented one of the best accounts of this reorganization that I have seen. There are certain hazards in producing a book that requires so long a period of gestation, and particularly so when the book deals with Soviet-type economies. In his comments on Kaser's essay, Gregory Grossman speculated that many of the growth-inducing establishments—industrial research institutes, project-making organizations, training institutes, etc.—might have been dispersed among the *Sovnarkhozy* as a result of the reorganization and would not serve or communicate with the industries as well as before. As a consequence, the channels of communication might be less effective in transmitting downward the pressure and information that are so important to Soviet economic growth. Grossman felt that if there were some reversion to the branch principle in the future, this dynamic consideration might be paramount.

Looking back at Soviet economic developments since 1957, it is difficult to see any slowing down in Soviet

growth, and in fact the reverse may be true. The economic results for 1959 and 1960 have been so impressive that Premier Khrushchev is now pressing for an upward revision of the 1965 targets in the current Seven Year Plan. It would probably be going too far to give credit for the recent spurt to the reorganization of 1957, but it certainly does not seem to have interfered with the channels of communication responsible for growth.

The diverse backgrounds of the participants undoubtedly served to enrich the discussion. Although most of the participants were experts on the economy of the USSR, the other Eastern European and Chinese branches of Sovietology were also represented, in some cases by citizens of those countries. From the discussions, it seems clear to this reviewer that the economic institutions and developments within the Soviet bloc exhibit considerably more heterogeneity than might be expected, considering the fact that the Soviet-type economic system was imported into these areas by Moscow-trained Communists.

But some of the participants in the discussion treated the Communist countries as more homogeneous than seems warranted. For example, the lone sociologist, Reinhard Bendix, drawing upon his extensive research on the East German regime, assumes that special-purpose campaigns such as Stakhanovism are endemic in the Soviet system. Although Stakhanovism may still persist in some of the Satellites, it has been quietly dropped by the Soviets since the early fifties and today even such formerly pervasive practices as progressive piece rates seem to be on the wane in the USSR.

Similarly, Bendix—with the concurrence and amplification of the Sino-Sovietologist Alexander Eckstein—suggests that the authoritarian regime may be "forced to reenact a kind of organizational simulation of the business cycle." According to Eckstein, pressures for maximizing rates of growth and rates of investment tend to be carried to the point where work incentives are undermined and productivity discouraged, forcing the au-

thorities to slacken the pace temporarily. Fluctuations in the rates of increase in labor productivity supposedly reflect this alternate stepping up and relaxation of pressure by the central planners.

There is no question that there have been wide fluctuations in the annual rates of increase in labor productivity within the Soviet economy, especially in the Thirties. Presumably the Chinese and Eastern European economies with which both Bendix and Eckstein are better acquainted may still be subject to these initial growth pulsations. But the interesting change in economic developments within the USSR in the Fifties has been the monotonous regularity with which industrial labor productivity has been increasing by from 6 to 8 percent per annum. Year-to-year fluctuations in agricultural output are obviously inevitable

under any economic system, but it seems likely that uncontrolled fluctuations in the industrial sector can be eliminated in the long run by substantive overall planning.

Another dangerous assumption implicit in the thinking behind many of the papers is underlined by Professor Levine in his comments on Campbell's detailed description of some of the inadequacies of Soviet cost accounting. According to Levine, much of what Campbell says is very similar to attacks leveled by Western economists at our own accounting practices. But it is not just Western cost accounting that is pretty far from any theoretic ideal. As Peter Wiles points out, there is a certain "unfashionability" associated with rationality as a goal in the relatively affluent West, even in the rarified atmosphere of graduate texts on welfare econom-

ics. As a matter of fact, a creeping over-all irrationality seems to be increasingly the fashion nowadays thanks to the diligent efforts of our more successful "waste makers." Should the internal pressures towards rationality continue their erosion of Marxist dogma in the Soviet bloc, it is, as Wiles concludes, "by no means certain that the West would gain anything politically from such a triumph." As the Soviet bloc apparently moves inexorably toward greater economic rationality, and if internal pressures force our own economy in a diametrically opposite direction, the prospect for the competition between the two economic systems becomes decidedly less optimistic from our own standpoint. To be able to say "We told you so" would be small comfort to Western economists as they watched the Soviet economy surge past them.

Book Notes

This section is reserved for brief descriptions of books of possible interest to our readers. The editors make no attempt at critical evaluation or analysis.

The Hundred Flowers Campaign and The Chinese Intellectuals, by Roderick MacFarquhar (New York: Praeger, 1960, 324 pp., \$6.75). "Only once has a Communist ruler invited his subjects to criticize his régime. This was in 1957 in China when Mao Tse-tung, to use his own phrase, called for a hundred flowers to bloom. The response of the Chinese intelligentsia—the first section of the population to be asked to air views—provides a unique description of Communist Chinese totalitarianism from the inside. The aim of this book is to record that description." The material used here is the official documentary record translated from the Chinese press. The Hundred Flowers episode sheds revealing light on many aspects of the regime—education, literature, the arts, and particularly on the disenchanting attitude of

the country's youth. Along with thorough documentation, the author also analyzes a situation which has rather wide implications for the study of Communist regimes elsewhere. Epilogue by G. F. Hudson; biographical notes; index.

A Polish Factory, A Case Study of Workers' Participation in Decision Making, by Jiri Kolaja (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1960, 157 pp., \$5.00). This is the first study ever made by Western industrial sociologists of a factory in a Communist country. The author, an American citizen of Czechoslovak origin who speaks Polish, spent nearly two months in the summer of 1957 interviewing the workers of a textile factory in Lodz. This was a time when the new workers' councils were at the height of

their prestige under the official encouragement of the Gomulka regime. The author found that labor-management relations in the factory did not support the official thesis that under the Communist system there is no conflict of interest between workers and managers. The workers did not regard the factory as theirs, worked only in order to earn a living, and apparently took no interest in the social and economic results of their work. Even the workers' council had failed to establish itself as an organ of the workers, and appeared to them to reflect the views of management just as did the Party organization and the labor union. The workers themselves seemed to lack both the education and the motivation for any genuine participation in the management of the factory, even had they been granted the power.

The author concludes that both the Marxist and the traditional Western liberals have been over-optimistic in thinking that industrial conflict would be eliminated if the institutions were altered. Index.

Settling Disputes in Soviet Society, by John N. Hazard (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, 534 pp., \$9.50). This volume tests, on the basis of the Soviet example ("in no modern society since the French Revolution has there been such a generally accepted will among those who make policy to simplify judicial procedure"), the thesis that modern man can settle his disputes with simplicity, without elaborate tribunals, without complicated laws, and without a labyrinth of rules of procedure and evidence. The Bolshevik revolutionaries wanted simple and quick "people's justice." In 1917 the first decree on courts established local courts with one judge and two lay assistants, and abolished the professional bar and the system of prosecutors and court investigators. However, as the centralization in all aspects of Soviet government increased, the Commissar of Justice assumed more and more guidance over local courts, and the New Economic Policy created a need for legal formality. A hierarchy of courts was established, as were the State prosecutor's office and a form of professional bar. By 1925 an elaborate system of legal institutions operating under central control had reappeared. John N. Hazard, an authority in the field of Soviet law and Professor of Public Law at Columbia University, also discusses in this book the main trends in the subsequent development of the Soviet judiciary in the years which were "a stage setting for the struggle between supreme politicians and men of law, a struggle not yet terminated." Bibliography, index.

A Documentary History of Communism, edited by Robert V. Daniels (New York: Random House, 1960, 393 pp., \$8.75). After his valuable introductory analysis of the nature of Communism, Prof. Daniels presents the history of the Communist movement in selected documents from its beginnings under Lenin to the rule of Khrushchev. The material from which excerpts are taken includes: the pamphlets in which Lenin set forth his conception of a new kind of party, and in which he instructed his followers on the ways to infiltrate and seize the organizations of their opponents; the debates that preceded and accompanied the successful revolution in Russia; the

struggle for power after Lenin's death between Stalin and his opponents of the "left" and the "right"; the formulation of the policies that created a monolithic and powerful State; the pamphlets and speeches of Stalin, which for years were the official interpretation of Marxism-Leninism; and finally, the important documents of the most recent stages of Communist history: the development of Titoism in Yugoslavia, the rise of Chinese Communism, the thaw following Stalin's death, and the Hungarian Revolt.

The Lawyer in Communism, by Lajos Kalman (Boston: The Daughters of St. Paul, 1960, 179 pp., \$3.00). On the basis of his own experiences as a lawyer in Communist Hungary, Mr. Kalman throws some light on the legal system and the fate of the members of the bar and judges in Hungary under Communism. While he supplies documentary evidence as to the nature of Soviet jurisprudence, the tone of the book is too subjective to be satisfactory as a study of the legal process.

National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia, by Hans Rogger (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960, 319 pp., \$6.75). The purpose of this volume is to contribute to our "knowledge of a formative period of Russian history and to trace the origin of some of the central themes of Russian nationalism." In the eighteenth century, Russia experienced a heavy influx of Western ways. Mr. Rogger, Professor of History at Sarah Lawrence College, examines the numerous areas of Russian life which were affected by this Westernization and demonstrates how it challenged and stimulated the Russians to define the nature of their own culture, their own country and its people, and their national identity. Selected bibliography, notes, index.

Central Planning in Czechoslovakia: Organization for Growth in a Mature Economy, by Jan M. Michal (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 274 pp., \$5.75). Mr. Michal, who is a consultant to the Stanford Research Institute, examines the Czechoslovak economy during the first decade of Communist control (1948-1958) and compares it in growth and efficiency with Western European and US market economies, as well as with the economies of the less developed Communist countries such as Hungary, Poland and the USSR. He discusses the system of prices, the state budget, the national

income, investments, and the standard of living, providing statistical material and numerous tables. A special chapter is devoted to foreign trade, in which the author points out the importance of the economic aid granted by Czechoslovakia to underdeveloped countries in East and West. The Appendix contains the results of the 1959 Plan and the targets of the third Czechoslovak Five Year Plan up to 1965. Bibliography, index.

Common Sense About Russia, by Robert Conquest (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960, 175 pp., \$2.95). Robert Conquest traveled extensively in Eastern Europe as a member of the British Foreign Service and has recently been a Research Fellow of Soviet Political Affairs in the London School of Economics. In this book he presents in a realistic and concise manner the facts about the Soviet Union—how it functions, what are its economic, social, political and intellectual conditions, its attitudes and its policies. He relies exclusively on official sources and on "that evidence which has been accepted alike by the regime and by its critics."

Diary of a Russian Schoolteacher, by F. Vigdorova (New York: Grove Press, 1960, 256 pp., \$5.00). The author of this book is a young Soviet teacher who has written extensively on education in the Soviet press. Out of the diary which she kept in the first years of her teaching experience, and the observations she made later as a writer on education, she drew the picture of Marina Nikolayevna, the teacher in this book. Marina sets down the triumphs and defeats, the daily struggles and crises of a teacher trying to win the minds and hearts of her students. "The importance of this book"—writes Robert M. Hutchins in his introduction—"lies in the fact that it helps us to understand Russian education and the Russian people in a way that the figures can never do. . . . Certainly, the school is in Russia. The tone is 'patriotic.' Lenin, Stalin, and the Party receive the kind of treatment accorded to Washington, Lincoln, and Democracy in American books of this kind. . . . To those of us who have supposed that an authoritarian State must have authoritarian schools, exacting blind obedience and perfect order, it will come as a surprise to recognize in the class here described the same dilatory, indifferent, and insolent pupils that one encounters, too often, in a 'democratic' system. . . . This book is an important contribution to international understanding."

Texts and Documents

CHINESE INTERPRETATION OF MOSCOW STATEMENT

In early December, after weeks of deliberation in Moscow, the representatives of 81 Communist Parties issued a statement defining their attitude on international political questions. Comments on the statement made since then by Communist leaders around the world show that the document is open to various interpretations even by those who took a principal part in the discussions. On December 15 Red Flag, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, carried an editorial which implied that the statement vindicated the Chinese point of view. The writer quoted liberally from past statements by Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and other Chinese spokesmen, but made no reference to any Soviet leader living or dead. While emphasizing the unity of the world Communist movement, the editorial did not make the customary obeisance to the leadership of the USSR. It also gave particular stress to those parts of the statement which seem to support the more belligerent attitude of the Chinese in world affairs.

THE DOCUMENTS issued by the Moscow meeting of representatives of eighty-one Communist and workers' Parties are warmly welcomed by the broad masses of the people in all countries. The main document of the meeting, "the statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' Parties," is a program document, heir of the 1957 Moscow declaration. The statement gives a penetrating analysis of the developments in the balance of international class forces in the past three years, elucidates the many important and pressing questions confronting the international Communist movement and all progressive mankind, and indicates to the Communist Parties, the working class and all progressive forces in all countries the line and the road to victory in their common struggle. The publication of the statement has given rise to panic-stricken outbursts in the imperialist camp. This document, adopted unanimously by the 81 Communist and workers' Parties, is bound to advance greatly the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, for national liberation, democracy and Socialism on a world-wide scale.

Although the specific conditions of the 81 independent Communist and workers' Parties in various countries of the world are different, they all take Marxism-Leninism as their guiding ideology and are responsible not only to the working

class and laboring people of their respective countries but also to the entire international workers' and Communist movement. This is why they are able to reach common conclusions on many important questions through consultations. This fact itself shows the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the great united strength of the international Communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party was represented by its delegation at the Moscow meeting. The delegates of the Chinese Communist Party, together with the delegates of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Parties, worked jointly in drawing up the documents of the meeting. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people rejoice in the achievements of this meeting, which are in complete accord with the line and principles consistently pursued by the Chinese Communist Party.

As Comrade Mao Said

The statement of the meeting points out in clear-cut terms that imperialism is the enemy of all progressive causes of human society in our time and is also the enemy of world peace. Imperialism has created grave dangers for all mankind through its plans for launching a nuclear war. The imperialist group headed by the United States calls the world under its rule a "free world" and at-

tempts to use empty talks about peace to hoodwink the peoples of all countries. According to the apologists of imperialism, whoever wants freedom must submit to the system of imperialist domination and whoever wants peace must give up the anti-imperialist struggle. To smash this reactionary propaganda of the imperialists before the broad masses of the people in all countries of the world is, undoubtedly, of great importance.

On the basis of irrefutable facts the statement thoroughly exposes the true colors of imperialism. The statement says, "International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that US imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarmerie, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world." The statement points out that the source of modern war is the capitalist system and the imperialist system. So long as imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the danger of a new world war still persists; on the contrary, the peoples must now be more vigilant than ever.

It is an irrepressible objective law that the people of different countries who are oppressed and menaced by imperialism rise up against it. It is impossible for the imperialists to try to quell this struggle. As the statement says, "The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting underway between the forces of labor and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism." It stresses that "the broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by US imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war."

To safeguard the peace, it is necessary to wage an active struggle against imperialism, the creator of war. This is the fundamental stand of Marxists-Leninists on the question of peace. Now, in addition to the Marxists-Leninists, more and more people in the world are becoming aware of this truth. On this point, the statement of the meeting sums up the valuable experience gained by the people the world over.

For a long time in the past, the Chinese people had suffered from bullying and oppression by imperialism as well as its armed occupation and large-scale military aggression. It was only after their victory in the hard-fought revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its lackeys that they created the possibilities for them-

selves to build their own country in a peaceful international environment. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China it laid down in its program for the building of the State that the principle of China's foreign policy "is protection of the independence, freedom, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country, upholding lasting international peace and friendly cooperation among the peoples of all countries, and opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression and war." (The common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.) It is also provided in the constitution of the Chinese People's Republic that "in international affairs our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity." This basic principle of China's foreign relations has always been carried out consistently.

Shortly after the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, US imperialism unscrupulously launched an armed aggression which forced the Chinese people to wage the war to resist American aggression and aid Korea. But we carried on this war precisely in order to realize peace. Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared in October, 1951, "The great struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea is now continuing. It must be carried on until the US government is willing to settle the question peacefully. We do not desire to encroach upon any country. We are simply opposing imperialist aggression against our country. Everyone knows that if American forces had not occupied our Taiwan, had not invaded the Korean Democratic People's Republic and pushed their attacks to our northeastern borders, the Chinese people would not be fighting against American troops." (Chairman Mao Tse-tung's opening speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.) The joint struggle of the Korean and Chinese peoples finally forced the US government to accept an armistice. As is generally known, the Chinese side had made prolonged, unremitting efforts to bring about an armistice in Korea.

No End to Struggle

In the first half of 1954, after the Korean armistice, the Chinese government took part in the Geneva Conference to bring about an armistice in Indochina and further restore the peaceful situation in the Far East on the one hand, and, on the other, proposed jointly with the Indian and Burmese governments the five

principles of peaceful coexistence. At that time, the Chinese government declared, "All our efforts are directed towards building our country into a prosperous and happy Socialist industrial State. We are going ahead with our peaceful work and we want a peaceful environment and a peaceful world. This basic fact determines the peaceful policy of our country in foreign affairs." It also stated that the five principles of peaceful coexistence which apply to relations between China and India and between China and Burma should apply likewise to relations between China and other Asian countries, as well as to international relations in general. (Premier Chou En-lai's report on the work of the government, made at the first session of the First National People's Congress of China in September, 1954.)

Peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition among nations with differing social systems is a principle all Socialist countries commonly abide by. The imperialists and the revisionists are of the opinion that the prerequisite for putting this principle into effect is the renunciation of the struggle against imperialism in the political, economic and ideological fields. This is of course preposterous. The statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' Parties says: "Peaceful coexistence of States does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of States with different social systems is a form of class struggle between Socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence, favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class struggle and the national liberation struggle promote the consolidation of peaceful coexistence."

In the past years, the Chinese government has, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, established and developed relations of friendship and cooperation with a series of Asian, African and Latin American countries and neutral States in Europe. It has also established and developed normal diplomatic relations with many other capitalist countries. As early as July, 1955, the Chinese government has on many occasions put forward the proposal that countries in Asia and around the Pacific, including the United States, sign a peace pact of mutual non-aggression and make the entire region a nuclear weapons-free area, a peace area.

In his report to the first session of the 8th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Liu Shao-chi declared: "In our foreign relations, we consistently follow a firm policy of peace and advocate peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation among all nations. We believe in the superiority of the Socialist system and we are not afraid to engage in peaceful competition with capitalist countries. Our policy accords with the interests of all the peoples of the world."

It is the imperialist forces of aggression headed by the United States that obstruct peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems. Therefore, as the statement of the meeting says, it is essential to weaken and press back steadily the positions of imperialism by the active struggle of the people for peace, democracy and national liberation. Only then it is possible to force the imperialists into accepting peaceful coexistence.

"China Has Always Supported Disarmament"

While persisting in the policy of peaceful coexistence, China, together with the other Socialist countries, has all along insisted on combating the imperialist policy of aggression and war and giving support to the struggles waged by all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. Our faith in the policy of peaceful coexistence is founded on the triumphant progress of the anti-imperialist struggles. Speaking at the fifth session of the First National People's Congress in February 1958, Comrade Chou En-lai said: "The world forces for peace are stronger today than ever before. The conditions for securing a lasting world peace are unprecedentedly favorable. So long as all the peace-loving countries and peoples maintain their solidarity and persevere in the struggle as they have up till now they will be able to cause the international situation to continue to develop in a direction favorable to peace and compel the imperialist aggressive forces to accept peaceful coexistence."

China has always given firm support to the disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet Union. For imperialism, disarmament is a grave question. The imperialists would not concede easily to the carrying out of even partial disarmament. The statement of the meeting notes that the program for a general disarmament has encountered the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence, it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist

forces with the aim of carrying this program into practice. This is entirely correct.

All this proves that the forming of the broadest united front against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and the successful unfolding of the struggle against imperialism, which pursues the policies of aggression and war, constitute the most important guarantees for realizing a lasting world peace. The Communists of all countries are fighters who are in the van of the struggle against imperialism, and, at the same time, are also the most active fighters for peace. To say that Communists do not want peace because they advocate a struggle against imperialism is nothing but imperialist slander against us.

The statement adopted at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' Parties of all countries convincingly proves that in the current world arena, the forces of Socialism have more markedly surpassed imperialism and the forces of peace have more markedly surpassed those of war. The world Socialist system is vigorously on the upgrade and is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. The peoples who are building Socialism and Communism in the Socialist countries, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The world imperialist system is going through an intense process of decay and disintegration. The instability of the capitalist economy is growing, the contradictions among the imperialist countries are becoming ever more acute and a new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.

Imperialism Has Not Changed

The statement correctly points out: "The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of Socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of Socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious." Proceeding precisely from this situation, it can be seen that although imperialism is stubbornly carrying out its policies of aggression and war, a new world war can be prevented by relying on the concerted efforts of the world Socialist camp, the

international working class, the national liberation movement, all countries which oppose war, and all peace-loving forces."

This world situation in favor of peace and Socialism represents the inevitable result of the development of the situation in the past fifteen years after the second world war.

In June 1950, the year after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The war threat from the imperialist camp still exists. The possibility of a third world war still exists. However, the forces fighting to check the danger of war, to prevent the outbreak of a third world war, are growing very rapidly. The degree of consciousness of the great majority of the people in the world is rising. So long as the Communist Parties of the whole world are able to continue to unite all the possible forces for peace and democracy, and enable them to grow still further, a new world war can be thwarted." (Report at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.)

In November 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: The international situation has now reached a new turning-point. He said: "The characteristic of the situation today is that the east wind prevails over the west wind. That is to say, the Socialist forces are overwhelmingly superior to the imperialist forces." Comrade Mao Tse-tung elucidated the possibility of preventing a new war in the light of the new change in the balance of world class forces. The Chinese Communists always proceed from this evaluation in their observation of the question of war and peace and other important international questions.

The possibility of averting world war does not arise because the nature of imperialism has changed or may change. The statement of the Moscow meeting points out: "The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed." That a world war can be averted is because real forces have come into being capable of smashing the aggressive plans of imperialism and these forces are growing daily.

To prevent a world war remains a serious task. The statement calls upon the people not to underestimate the possibility of preventing a world war or underestimate the danger of war. All those who struggle for peace should maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably lay bare the policy of the imperialists and keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers. While pursuing unswervingly the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different so-

cial systems, the Communist Parties of the Socialist countries at the same time display the greatest vigilance against imperialism, exert their utmost to consolidate the might of the Socialist camp and the strength of national defense and adopt every necessary measure to safeguard the security of the people of all countries and to defend peace.

Marxist-Leninists observe questions strictly from objective reality instead of from subjective desire. For things about to happen, all the practical possibilities should always be taken into consideration. It is only thus that the people can always retain the initiative in practice. Alongside the estimation that there is a possibility for the strength of the people to tie the imperialists hand and foot and prevent war, the possibility that the most aggressive forces of imperialism will impose war on the people come what may should also be taken into account. In light of the practical situation with regard to the balance of class forces the statement points out: "Should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it."

Oppressed Peoples May Resort to Arms

No Communist believes in the need for wars between States in order to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the Socialist system. All Socialist countries stand firmly for peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between States with different social systems, believing that revolution is the affair of the people themselves of each country concerned. Only imperialists could slander the Socialist countries as being in need of a world war to "push forward a world revolution." The Communists are firmly convinced that in the absence of a world war, all capitalist States will eventually go through a Socialist revolution and embark on the road of Socialism through the efforts of the peoples of these countries. To safeguard the life and security of all peoples and to spare the world the catastrophes of a nuclear war, we have to redouble our efforts to hold the imperialists in check in their attempts to resort to desperate war gambles. The statement points out that the peoples of the colonies win their independence through armed struggle or by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. It also points out that in the transition from capitalism to Socialism, there is the possibility that it is achieved in different countries with-

out civil war, and also the possibility that the people are forced to resort to non-peaceful transition in the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against them. The meeting of the Communist and workers' Parties expresses sympathy and support for the armed struggles waged by the oppressed peoples for their own liberation.

The statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' Parties has fully estimated the importance of the present-day national liberation movement, which is a basic force in smashing the world imperialist war and in the struggle for world peace. . . . All this is of particular importance. The statement declares that it is the duty of all the Socialist countries, the international working class movement and the Communist movement to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese peoples have always attached great importance to the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi, in his report at the first session of the Party's 8th National Congress, pointed out that the national independence movement had become a formidable world force. He held that after the second world war the extensive victories gained in the national independence movement were a new development of great historic significance, following the emergence of the world Socialist system. The Chinese Communist Party has always held that the support extended by the Socialist countries to the national independence movement accords fully with the interests of the countries and their sympathy and support for the national independence movement have greatly facilitated the development and victory of this movement.

At the same time the upsurge of the national independence movement has likewise weakened the imperialist forces of aggression. This is favorable to the cause of world peace, and therefore favor-

able to the peaceful construction of the Socialist countries. That is why the friendship and cooperation between the Socialist countries and the nationally independent countries conform not only to their common interests but to the interests of world peace as well. . . .

The meeting of representatives of Communist and workers' Parties has made a correct evaluation of the present state of the balance of world class forces and has correctly put forward the policy of struggle. Hence, the statement of the meeting has opened prospects for the broad masses of the people to win brilliant victories through struggles. The statement points out with full confidence that "whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for Socialism. The complete triumph of Socialism is inevitable."

The definition of the present epoch formulated by the statement has a scientific basis and is of enormous significance. . . . Our time is a time of Socialist revolutions, and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism and of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of the transition of more and more peoples to the Socialist path, of the triumph of Socialism and Communism on a world-wide scale.

All Communists Are United

Just as the statement pointed out, the central factors of our time are the international working class and its chief creation, the world Socialist system. Therefore, the constant developing of construction in the Socialist countries, the constant strengthening of the unity of the Socialist camp and of the unity of the vanguard of the working class of all countries—the Communist Parties—are the guarantee of the victory of the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, Socialism and human progress.

The more the Socialist countries develop their construction, the greater will be their role in the current political life

in the world. The great Soviet peoples are now rapidly building the material and technical basis of Communism and all other fraternal countries have also continuously scored new achievements in building Socialism. We, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, must also push forward our work of construction even more efficiently to turn our country swiftly into a really powerful Socialist country. This is demanded by the interests of the Chinese people themselves and it also is our contribution to the people the world over.

This Moscow meeting has once again demonstrated the great unity of the countries of the Socialist camp and of the Communist Parties of all countries and the documents adopted by it will surely promote this unity still further. The Chinese Communist Party has always regarded as its important international duty to uphold the unity of the two countries, China and the Soviet Union, and their two parties, of the unity of the entire Socialist camp and of the unity of the entire international Communist movement. This unity is based on the common foundation of Marxism-Leninism, a unity forged in the struggle against common enemies, a unity formed for the purpose of winning victory in the common cause. Therefore, this unity can withstand all tests, will develop continuously and no enemy can wreck it by any means.

With the unity of the Socialist camp and the unity of the international Communist movement, it is certainly possible to rally the broadest forces of the peoples throughout the world and to surmount the obstacles on the road of advance of the peoples of all countries.

The statement of the meeting of representatives of Communist and workers' Parties has issued a great anti-imperialist call to the people the world over. The struggle of the people throughout the world against imperialism, in defense of world peace, for national independence and Socialism will certainly register a new upsurge and score fresh great victories!



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